WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

From a Model by Tassie.

Drawn by J. Jackson, Engraved by C. Picart.

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HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND

DURING THE REIGNS OF

QUEEN MARY and of KING JAMES VI.

TILL

HIS ACCESSION TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND:

WITH

A REVIEW OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY PREVIOUS TO THAT PERIOD;
AND AN APPENDIX CONTAINING ORIGINAL PAPERS.

BY WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.
PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

THE NINETEENTH EDITION,
With the AUTHOR's laſt Emendations and Additions.

To which is prefixed,
An Account of the LIFE and WRITINGS of the AUTHOR,
BY DUGALD STEWART, F.R.S. EDIN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D. F.R.S.E.

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

[Read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh.]

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE principal authorities for the biographical details in the following pages were communicated to me by Dr. Robertſon's eldeſt ſon, Mr. William Robertſon, Advocate. To him I am indebted, not only for the original letters with which he has enabled me to gratify the curioſity of my Readers, but for every other aid which he could be prompted to contribute, either by regard for his father's memory, or by friendſhip for myſelf.

My information with reſpect to the earlier part of Dr. Robertſon's life was derived almoſt entirely from one of his oldeſt and moſt valued friends, the Rev. Dr. Carlyle ofИвшереſk.

It is proper for me to add, that this Memoir was read at different meetings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and was deſtined for a place in their Tranſactions. The length to which it has extended, ſuggeſted the idea of a ſeparate publication, and the addition of an Appendix.

During the long interval which has elapſed ſince it was compoſed, a few ſentences have been occaſionally inſerted, in which a reference is made to later criticiſms on Dr. Robertſon's writings. I mention this circumſtance, in order to account for ſome ſlight anachroniſms.

DUGALD STEWART.

College of Edinburgh,
16th May, 1801.

1749
THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFO[JI]

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

I DELIVER this book to the world with all the diffidence and anxiety natural to an author on publishing his first performance. The time I have employed, and the pains I have taken, in order to render it worthy of the public approbation, it is, perhaps, prudent to conceal, until it be known whether that approbation shall ever be bestowed upon it.

But as I have departed, in many instances, from former historians, as I have placed facts in a different light, and have drawn characters with new colours, I ought to account for this conduct to my readers; and to produce the evidence, on which, at the distance of two centuries, I presume to contradict the testimony of less remote, or even of contemporary historians.

The transactions in Mary's reign gave rise to two parties, which were animated against each other with the fiercest political hatred, embittered by religious zeal. Each of these produced historians of considerable merit, who adopted

all their ſentiments, and defended all their actions. Truth was not the ſole object of theſe authors. Blinded by prejudices, and heated by the part which they themſelves had acted in the ſcenes they deſcribe, they wrote an apology for a faction, rather than the hiſtory of their country. Succeeding Hiſtorians have followed theſe guides almoſt implicitly, and have repeated their errors and miſrepreſentations. But as the ſame paſſions which inflamed parties in that age have deſcended to their poſterity; as almoſt every event in Mary's reign has become the object of doubt or of diſpute; the eager ſpirit of controverſy ſoon diſcovered, that without ſome evidence more authentic and more impartial than that of ſuch Hiſtorians, none of the points in queſtion could be decided with certainty. Records have therefore been ſearched, original papers have been produced, and public archives, as well as the repoſitories of private men, have been ranſacked by the zeal and curioſity of writers of different parties. The attention of Cecil to collect whatever related to that period, in which he acted ſo conſpicuous a part, hath provided ſuch an immenſe ſtore of original papers for illuſtrating this part of the Engliſh and Scottiſh hiſtory, as are almoſt ſufficient to ſatisfy the utmoſt avidity of an Antiquary. Sir Robert Cotton (whoſe library is now the property of the Public) made great and valuable additions to Cecil's collection; and from this magazine, Digges, the compilers of the Caballa,

balla, Anderſon, Keith, Haynes, Forbes, have drawn moſt of the papers, which they have printed. No Hiſtory of Scotland, that merits any degree of attention, has appeared ſince theſe Collections were publiſhed. By conſulting them, I have been enabled, in many inſtances, to correct the inaccuracies of former Hiſtorians, to avoid their miſtakes, and to detect their miſrepreſentations.

But many important papers have eſcaped the notice of thoſe induſtrious Collectors; and, after all they have produced to light, much ſtill remained in darkneſs, unobſerved or unpubliſhed. It was my duty to ſearch for theſe; and I found this unpleaſant taſk attended with conſiderable utility.

The Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh contains not only a large collection of original papers relating to the affairs of Scotland, but copies of others no leſs curious, which have been preſerved by Sir Robert Cotton, or are extant in the Public Offices in England. Of all theſe the Curators of that Library were pleaſed to allow me the peruſal.

Though the Britiſh Muſeum be not yet open to the public, Dr. Birch, whoſe obliging diſpoſition is well known, procured me acceſs to that noble collection, which is worthy the magnificence of a great and poliſhed nation.

THAT vaſt and curious collection of papers relating to the reign of Elizabeth, which was made by Dr. Forbes, and of which he publiſhed only two volumes, having been purchaſed ſince his death by the Lord Viſcount Royſton, his Lordſhip was ſo good as to allow me the uſe of fourteen volumes in quarto, containing that part of them which is connected with my ſubject.

SIR Alexander Dick communicated to me a very valuable collection of original papers, in two large volumes. They relate chiefly to the reign of James. Many of them are marked with Archbiſhop Spotiſwood's hand; and it appears from ſeveral paſſages in his hiſtory, that he had peruſed them with great attention.

MR. Calderwood, an eminent Preſbyterian Clergyman of the laſt century, compiled an Hiſtory of Scotland from the beginning of the reign of James V. to the death of James VI. in ſix large volumes; wherein he has inſerted many papers of conſequence, which are no where elſe to be found. This Hiſtory has not been publiſhed, but a copy of it, which ſtill remains in manuſcript, in the poſſeſſion of the church of Scotland, was put into my hands by my worthy friend the Reverend Dr. George Wiſhart, principal Clerk of the Church.

SIR David Dalrymple not only communicated to me the papers which he has collected relating

to

to Gowrie's conſpiracy; but, by explaining to me his ſentiments with regard to that problematical paſſage in the Scottiſh hiſtory, has enabled me to place that tranſaction in a light which diſpels much of the darkneſs and confuſion in which it has been hitherto involved.

Mr. Goodall, though he knew my ſentiments with regard to the conduct and character of Queen Mary to be extremely different from his own, communicated to me a volume of manuſcripts in his poſſeſſion, which contains a great number of valuable papers copied from the originals in the Cottonian Library and Paper Office, by the late Reverend Mr. Crawford, Regius Profeſſor of Church Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Edinburgh. I likewiſe received from him the original Regiſter of letters kept by the Regent Lennox during his adminiſtration.

I have conſulted all theſe papers, as far as I thought they could be of any uſe towards illuſtrating that period of which I wrote the hiſtory. With what ſucceſs I have employed them to confirm what was already known, to aſcertain what was dubious, or to determine what was controverted, the Public muſt judge.

I might eaſily have drawn, from the different repoſitories to which I had acceſs, as many papers as would have rendered my Appendix equal in ſize to the moſt bulky collection of my predeceſ-

ſors.

ſors. But I have ſatisfied myſelf with publiſhing a few of the moſt curious among them, to which I found it neceſſary to appeal as vouchers for my own veracity. None of theſe, as far as I can recollect, ever appeared in any former collection.

I HAVE added a *Critical Diſſertation concerning the murder of King Henry, and the genuineneſs of the Queen's letters to Bothwell.* The facts and obſervations which relate to Mary's letters, I owe to my friend Mr. John Davidſon, one of the Clerks to the Signet, who hath examined this point with his uſual acuteneſs and induſtry.

PREFACE

TO

THE ELEVENTH EDITION.

IT is now twenty-eight years ſince I publiſhed the Hiſtory of Scotland. During that time I have been favoured by my friends with ſeveral remarks upon it; and various ſtrictures have been made by perſons, who entertained ſentiments different from mine, with reſpect to the tranſactions in the reign of Queen Mary. From whatever quarter information came, in whatever mode it has been communicated, I have conſidered it calmly and with attention. Wherever I perceived that I had erred, either in relating events, or in delineating characters, I have, without heſitation, corrected thoſe errors.—Wherever I am ſatisfied that my original ideas were juſt and well-founded, I adhere to them; and, reſting upon their conformity to evidence already produced, I enter into no diſcuſſion or controverſy in order to ſupport them. Wherever the opportunity of conſulting original papers either in print or in manuſcript, to which I had not formerly acceſs, has enabled me to throw new light upon any part of the Hiſtory, I have made alterations and additions, which, I flatter myſelf, will be found to be of ſome importance.

College of Edinburgh,
March 5th, 1787.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

SECTION FIRST.

From Dr. Robertson's *Birth till the Publication of his Hiſtory of Scotland.*

William Robertson, D. D. late Principal of the Univerſity of Edinburgh, and Hiſtoriographer to His Majeſty for Scotland, was the ſon of the Reverend William Robertſon, Miniſter of the old Gray-Friars' Church, and of Eleanor Pitcairn, daughter of David Pitcairn, Eſq. of Dreghorn. By his father he was deſcended from the Robertſons of Gladney in the county of Fife; a branch of the reſpectable family of the ſame name, which has, for many generations, poſſeſſed the eſtate of Struan in Perthſhire.

He was born in 1721, at Borthwick (in the county of Mid Lothian), where his father was then Miniſter; and received the firſt rudiments

of his education at the ſchool of Dalkeith, which, from the high reputation of Mr. Leſlie as a teacher, was at that time reſorted to from all parts of Scotland. In 1733, he again joined his father's family on their removal to Edinburgh; and, towards the end of the ſame year, he entered on his courſe of academical ſtudy.

From this period till the year 1759, when, by the publication of his Scottiſh Hiſtory, he fixed a new æra in the literary annals of his country, the habits and occurrences of his life were ſuch as to ſupply few materials for Biography; and the imagination is left to fill up a long interval ſpent in the ſilent purſuit of letters, and enlivened by the ſecret anticipation of future eminence. His genius was not of that forward and irregular growth, which forces itſelf prematurely on public notice; and it was only a few intimate and diſcerning friends, who, in the native vigour of his powers, and in the patient culture by which he laboured to improve them, perceived the earneſts of a fame that was to laſt for ever.

The large proportion of Dr. Robertſon's life which he thus devoted to obſcurity will appear the more remarkable, when contraſted with his early and enthuſiaſtic love of ſtudy. Some of his oldeſt common-place books, ſtill in his ſon's poſſeſſion, (dated in the years 1735, 1736, and 1737,) bear marks of a perſevering aſſiduity, unexampled perhaps at ſo tender an age; and the motto prefixed to all of them, (*Vita ſine literis mors eſt,*) atteſts how ſoon thoſe views and ſen-

timents were formed, which, to his lateſt hour, continued to guide and to dignify his ambition. In times ſuch as the preſent, when literary diſtinction leads to other rewards, the labours of the ſtudious are often prompted by motives very different from the hope of fame, or the inſpiration of genius; but when Dr. Robertſon's career commenced, theſe were the only incitements which exiſted to animate his exertions. The trade of Authorſhip was unknown in Scotland; and the rank which that country had early acquired among the learned nations of Europe, had, for many years, been ſuſtained entirely by a ſmall number of eminent men, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an honourable and diſintereſted zeal in the ungainful walks of abſtract ſcience.

Some preſages, however, of better times were beginning to appear. The productions of Thomſon, of Armſtrong, and of Mallet, were already known and admired in the metropolis of England, and an impulſe had been given to the minds of the riſing generation, by the exertions of a few able and enlightened men, who filled important ſtations in the Scottiſh Univerſities. Dr. Hutcheſon of Glaſgow, by his excellent writings, and ſtill more by his eloquent lectures, had diffuſed, among a numerous race of pupils, a liberality of ſentiment, and a refinement of taſte, unknown before in this part of the iſland; and the influence of his example had extended, in no inconſiderable degree, to that ſeminary where Dr. Robertſon received his education. The Profeſſorſhip of Moral Philoſophy at Edinburgh was then held

by Sir John Pringle, afterwards Prefident of the Royal Society of London; who, if he did not rival Dr. Hutchefon's abilities, was not furpaffed by him in the variety of his fcientific attainments, or in a warm zeal for the encouragement of ufeful knowledge. His efforts were ably feconded by the learning and induftry of Dr. Stevenfon, Profeffor of Logic; to whofe valuable prelections (particularly to his illuftrations of Ariftotle's Poetics and of Longinus on the Sublime), Dr. Robertfon has been often heard to fay, that he confidered himfelf as more deeply indebted, than to any other circumftance in his academical ftudies. The bent of his genius did not incline him to mathematical or phyfical purfuits, notwithftanding the ftrong recommendations they derived from the popular talents of Mr. Maclaurin; but he could not fail to receive advantage from the eloquence with which that illuftrious man knew how to adorn the moft abftracted fubjects, as well as from that correctnefs and purity in his compofitions which ftill entitle him to a high rank among our beft writers, and which no Scottifh author of the fame period had been able to attain.

A NUMBER of other learned and refpectable men, of whofe names the greater part now exift in tradition only, were then refident in Edinburgh. A club, or fociety of thefe*, carried on for fome years a private correfpondence with

* Called the *Rankenian* Club, from the name of the perfon in whofe tavern its meetings were held. The learned and ingenious Dr. Wallace, author of the Differtation on the Numbers of Mankind, was one of the leading members.

Dr.

Dr. Berkeley, the celebrated Biſhop of Cloyne, on the ſubject of his metaphyſical publications; and are ſaid to have been numbered by him among the few who completely comprehended the ſcope of his reaſonings againſt the exiſtence of *matter*. The influence of this ſociety, in diffuſing that ſpirit of philoſophical reſearch which has ſince become ſo faſhionable in Scotland, has often been mentioned to me by thoſe who had the beſt opportunities of obſerving the riſe and progreſs of Scottiſh literature.

I HAVE entered into theſe details, partly as they ſuggeſt ſome circumſtances which conſpired with Dr. Robertſon's natural inclination in fixing his ſtudious habits; and partly as they help to account for the ſudden tranſition which Scotland made, about this period, from the temporary obſcurity into which it had ſunk, to that ſtation which it has ſince maintained in the republic of letters. A great ſtock both of genius and of learning exiſted in the country; but the difficulty of overcoming the peculiarities of a provincial idiom, ſeemed to ſhut up every avenue to fame by means of the preſs, excepting in thoſe departments of ſcience, where the nature of the ſubject is ſuch as to diſpenſe with the graces of compoſition.

DR. ROBERTSON's ambition was not to be checked by theſe obſtacles; and he appears, from a very early period of life, to have employed, with much perſeverance, the moſt effectual means for ſurmounting them. Among other expedients, he was accuſtomed to exerciſe himſelf in the practice

of tranflation; and he had even gone fo far in the cultivation of this very difficult art, as to have thought ferioufly of preparing for the prefs a verfion of *Marcus Antoninus*, when he was anticipated, by an anonymous publication at Glafgow, in the execution of his defign. In making choice of this author, he was probably not a little influenced by that partiality with which (among the writings of Heathen Moralifts) he always regarded the remains of the Stoical Philofophy.

Nor was his ambition limited to the attainment of the honours that reward the induftry of the reclufe ftudent. Anxious to diftinguifh himfelf by the utility of his labours in that profeffion to which he had refolved to devote his talents, and looking forward, it is probable, to the active fhare he was afterwards to take in the Ecclefiaftical Policy of Scotland, he afpired to add to the art of claffical compofition, the powers of a perfuafive and commanding fpeaker. With this view, he united with fome of his contemporaries, during the laft years of his attendance at College, in the formation of a Society, where their object was to cultivate the ftudy of elocution, and to prepare themfelves, by the habits of extemporary difcuffion and debate, for conducting the bufinefs of popular affemblies. Fortunately for Dr. Robertfon, he had here affociates to contend with worthy of himfelf: among others, Dr. William M'Gie, an ingenious young Phyfician, afterwards well known in London; Mr. William Cleghorn, afterwards Profeffor of Moral Philofophy in Edinburgh; Dr. John Blair, late Prebendary of Weftminfter;

Weftminfter; Dr. Wilkie, author of the Epigoniad; and Mr. John Home, author of the Tragedy of Douglas.

His ftudies at the Univerfity being at length finifhed, Dr. Robertfon was licenfed to preach by the Prefbytery of Dalkeith in 1741, and in 1743 he was prefented to the living of Gladfmuir in Eaft Lothian, by the Earl of Hopeton. The income was but inconfiderable (the whole emoluments not exceeding one hundred pounds a-year): but the preferment, fuch as it was, came to him at a time fingularly fortunate; for, not long afterwards, his father and mother died within a few hours of each other, leaving a family of fix daughters and a younger fon, in fuch circumftances as required every aid which his flender funds enabled him to beftow.

Dr. Robertson's conduct in this trying fituation, while it bore the moft honourable teftimony to the generofity of his difpofitions, and to the warmth of his affections, was ftrongly marked with that manly decifion in his plans, and that perfevering fteadinefs in their execution, which were characteriftical features of his mind. Undeterred by the magnitude of a charge, which muft have appeared fatal to the profpects that had hitherto animated his ftudies; and refolved to facrifice to a facred duty all perfonal confiderations, he invited his father's family to Gladfmuir, and continued to educate his fifters under his own roof, till they were fettled refpectably in the world. Nor did he think himfelf at liberty, till then, to complete an union, which had been

 long

long the object of his wishes, and which may be justly numbered amongst the most fortunate incidents of his life. He remained single till 1751, when he married his cousin Miss Mary Nisbet, daughter of the Reverend Mr. Nisbet, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh.

WHILE he was thus engaged in the discharge of those pious offices which had devolved upon him by the sudden death of his parents, the Rebellion of 1745 broke out in Scotland, and afforded him an opportunity of evincing the sincerity of that zeal for the civil and religious liberties of his country, which he had imbibed with the first principles of his education; and which afterwards, at the distance of more than forty years, when he was called on to employ his eloquence in the national commemoration of the Revolution, seemed to rekindle the fires of his youth. His situation as a country Clergyman confined, indeed, his patriotic exertions within a narrow sphere; but even here, his conduct was guided by a mind superior to the scene in which he acted. On one occasion, (when the capital of Scotland was in danger of falling into the hands of the Rebels,) the state of public affairs appeared so critical, that he thought himself justified in laying aside, for a time, the pacific habits of his profession, and in quitting his parochial residence at Gladsmuir, to join the Volunteers of Edinburgh: and when, at last, it was determined that the city should be surrendered, he was one of the small band who repaired to Haddington, and offered their services to the Commander of His Majesty's forces.

The duties of his ſacred profeſſion were, in the mean time, diſcharged with a punctuality, which ſecured to him the veneration and attachment of his pariſhioners; while the eloquence and taſte that diſtinguiſhed him as a Preacher, drew the attention of the neighbouring Clergy, and prepared the way for that influence in the Church which he afterwards attained. A ſermon which he preached in the year 1755 before the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge, and which was the earlieſt of all his publications, affords a ſufficient proof of the eminence he might have attained in that ſpecies of compoſition, if his genius had not inclined him more ſtrongly to other ſtudies. This ſermon, the only one he ever publiſhed, has long been ranked, in both parts of the iſland, among the beſt models of pulpit eloquence in our language. It has undergone five editions; and is well known, in ſome parts of the Continent, in the German tranſlation of Mr. Ebeling.

A few years before this period, he made his firſt appearance in the debates of the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland. The queſtions which were then agitated in that place have long ceaſed to be intereſting; but they were highly important at the time, as they involved, not only the authority of the ſupreme court of eccleſiaſtical judicature, but the general tranquillity and good order of the country. The principles which Dr. Robertſon held on theſe ſubjects, and which have, for many years paſt, guided the policy of the Church, will again fall under our review, before the concluſion of this narrative.

At

MAHARAJA BERFORI'S DARA

At preſent, it is ſufficient to mention, that in the Aſſembly of 1751, when he firſt ſubmitted them to public diſcuſſion, they were ſo contrary to the prevailing ideas, that, although he enforced them with extraordinary powers of argument and eloquence, and was moſt ably ſupported by the late Sir Gilbert Elliot and Mr. Andrew Pringle, (afterwards Lord Alemoor,) he was left in a very ſmall minority; the houſe dividing, two hundred againſt eleven. The year following, by a ſteady perſeverance in the ſame views, he had the ſatiſfaction of bringing over a majority to his ſentiments, and gave a beginning to that ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical government which it was one of the great objects of his life to carry into effect, by the moſt vigorous and deciſive, though the moſt temperate and conciliatory meaſures. A paper which he drew up in the courſe of theſe proceedings, and which will be noticed in its proper place, explains the ground-work of the plan which he and his friends afterwards purſued.

The eſtabliſhment of the *Select Society* * in Edinburgh in the year 1754, opened another field for the diſplay and for the cultivation of his talents. This inſtitution, intended partly for philoſophical inquiry, and partly for the improvement of the members in public ſpeaking, was projected by Mr. Allan Ramſay the painter, and a few of his friends; but ſoon attracted ſo much of the public notice, that in the following year the number of members exceeded a hundred, including all the individuals in Edinburgh and the

* See Appendix to the Life, Note A.

neigh-

neighbourhood who were moſt diſtinguiſhed by genius or by literary attainments. In the liſt of thoſe who united with Mr. Ramſay in the formation of this ſociety, we find the names of Dr. Robertſon, Mr. David Hume, Mr. Adam Smith, Mr. Wedderburn (now Lord Chancellor), Lord Kames, Mr. John Home, Dr. Carlyle, Mr. Andrew Stuart, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and Lord Alemoor. The ſociety ſubſiſted in vigour for ſix or ſeven years, and produced debates, ſuch as have not often been heard in modern aſſemblies;—debates, where the dignity of the ſpeakers was not lowered by the intrigues of policy, or the intemperance of faction; and where the moſt ſplendid talents that have ever adorned this country were rouſed to their beſt exertions, by the liberal and ennobling diſcuſſions of literature and philoſophy. To this inſtitution, while it laſted, Dr. Robertſon contributed his moſt zealous ſupport; ſeldom omitting an opportunity of taking a ſhare in its buſineſs; and deriving from it an addition to his own fame, which may be eaſily conceived by thoſe who are acquainted with his ſubſequent writings, or who have witneſſed thoſe powers of argument and illuſtration which, in the eccleſiaſtical courts, he afterwards employed ſo ſucceſsfully, on ſubjects not ſo ſuſceptible of the embelliſhments of eloquence.

In theſe courts, indeed, during the very period when the Select Society was contributing ſo much to the fame and to the improvement of Scotland, there occurred one ſubject of debate, unconnected with the ordinary details of church-

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government, which afforded at once full ſcope to Dr. Robertſon's powers as a ſpeaker, and to a diſplay of that mild and conciliatory temper, which was afterwards, for a long courſe of years, ſo honourably employed, in healing the diviſions of a church torn with faction, and in ſmoothing the tranſition from the ſeverity of puritanical manners, to habits leſs at variance with the genius of the times. For this important and arduous taſk he was fitted in an eminent degree by the happy union he exhibited in his own character, of that exemplary decency which became his order, with all the qualities that form the charm and the ornament of ſocial life.—The occurrence to which I allude more particularly at preſent, was the flame kindled among the Scottiſh Clergy in the year 1757, by the publication of the Tragedy of Douglas, the author of which, Mr. John Home, was then Miniſter of Athelſtonford. The extraordinary merits of this performance, which is now become to Scotchmen a ſubject of national pride, were not ſufficient to atone for ſo bold a departure from the auſterity expected in a Preſbyterian divine; and the offence was not a little exaſperated by the conduct of ſome of Mr. Home's brethren, who, partly from curioſity, and partly from a friendly wiſh to ſhare in the cenſure beſtowed on the author, were led to witneſs the firſt repreſentation of the piece on the Edinburgh ſtage. In the whole courſe of the eccleſiaſtical proceedings connected with theſe incidents, Dr. Robertſon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ableſt and moſt animated

mated exertions in defence of his friends; and contributed greatly, by his perſuaſive eloquence, to the mildneſs of that ſentence in which the proſecution at laſt terminated. His arguments on this occaſion had, it may be preſumed, the greater weight, that he had never himſelf entered within the walls of a playhouſe; a remarkable proof among numberleſs others which the hiſtory of his life affords, of that ſcrupulous circumſpection in his private conduct, which, while it added ſo much to his uſefulneſs as a Clergyman, was eſſential to his influence as the leader of a party; and which ſo often enabled him to recommend ſucceſsfully to others, the ſame candid and indulgent ſpirit that was congenial to his own mind.

The flattering notice theſe exertions drew to him from the public, and the riſing influence he had already ſecured among his own order, would have preſented to a temper leſs active and perſevering than his, many ſeductions to interrupt his ſtudies. A conſiderable portion of his time appears, in fact, to have been devoted, during this period of his life, to the ſociety of his friends; but, as far as his ſituation enabled him to command it, it was to a ſociety which amply compenſated for its encroachment on his ſtudious leiſure, by what it added to the culture and enlargement of his mind. The improvement which, in theſe reſpects, he derived from the converſation of Patrick Lord Elibank, he often recollected in his more advanced years with peculiar pleaſure; and it affords no inconſiderable proof of the penetration of that lively and accompliſhed Noble-

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man, that long before the voice of the public could have given any direction to his attachments, he had selected as the companion of his social hours, the Historian of Queen Mary, and the Author of the Tragedy of Douglas.

No seductions, however, could divert Dr. Robertson from the earliest object of his ambition; and in the midst of all his avocations, his studies had been advancing with a gradual progress. In the spring of the year which followed the debates about Mr. Home's Tragedy, he went to London to concert measures for the publication of his History of Scotland:—a work of which the plan is said to have been formed soon after his settlement at Gladsmuir. It was published on the first of February 1759, and was received by the world with such unbounded applause, that before the end of that month, he was desired by his bookseller to prepare for a second edition.

From this moment the complexion of his fortune was changed. After a long struggle, in an obscure though a happy and hospitable retreat, with a narrow income and an increasing family, his prospects brightened at once. He saw independence and affluence within his reach; and flattered himself with the idea of giving a still bolder flight to his genius, when no longer depressed by those tender anxieties which so often fall to the lot of men whose pursuits and habits, while they heighten the endearments of domestic life, withdraw them from the paths of interest and ambition.

In venturing on a ſtep, the ſucceſs of which was to be ſo deciſive, not only with reſpect to his fame, but to his future comfort, it is not ſurpriſing that he ſhould have felt, in a more than common degree, "that anxiety and diffidence ſo natural to an author in delivering to the world "his firſt performance."—"The time," (he obſerves in his preface,) "which I have employed in attempting to render it worthy of the "public approbation, it is perhaps prudent to "conceal, till it ſhall be known whether that "approbation is ever to be beſtowed."

Among the many congratulatory letters addreſſed to him on this occaſion, a few have been accidentally preſerved; and, although the contents of ſome of them may not now appear very important, they ſtill derive a certain degree of intereſt from the names and characters of the writers, and from the ſympathetic ſhare which a good-natured reader cannot fail to take in Dr. Robertſon's feelings, when he perceived the firſt dawning of his future fame.

In the extracts, however, which I mean at preſent to produce from theſe letters, my principal object is to ſhew, how very ſtrong an impreſſion was made on the public mind by this work at the time of its firſt appearance. It was then regarded as an attempt towards a ſpecies of compoſition that had been cultivated with very little ſucceſs in this iſland; and accordingly it entitles the Author, not merely to the praiſe which would now be due to an Hiſtorian of equal eminence, but to a high rank among thoſe original and

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MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARA

leading minds that form and guide the taſte of a nation. In this view, a juſt eſtimate of its peculiar merits is more likely to be collected from the teſtimony of ſuch as could compare it only with the productions of former writers, than from the opinions of critics familiariſed in early life to all that has ſince been done to imitate or to rival its beauties.

A LETTER from Mr. Horace Walpole, to whom ſome ſpecimens of the work had been communicated during the Author's viſit to London, is the earlieſt teſtimony of this kind which I have found among his papers. It is dated January 18, 1759.

" I EXPECT with impatience your book, which " you are ſo kind as to ſay you have ordered for " me, and for which I already give you many " thanks: the ſpecimen I ſaw convinces me that " I do not thank you raſhly. Good Hiſtorians " are the moſt ſcarce of all writers; and no won- " der! a good ſtyle is not very common; " thorough information is ſtill more rare:— " and if theſe meet, what a chance that impar- " tiality ſhould be added to them! Your ſtyle, " Sir, I may venture to ſay, I ſaw was uncom- " monly good; I have reaſon to think your in- " formation ſo: and in the few times I had the " pleaſure of converſing with you, your good " ſenſe and candour made me conclude, that " even on a ſubject which we are fooliſh enough " to make *party*, you preſerve your judgment " unbiaſſed. I fear I ſhall not preſerve mine " ſo; the too kind acknowledgments that I fre- " quently receive from gentlemen of your coun-

" try, of the juſt praiſe that I paid to merit, will " make me at leaſt for the future not very un" prejudiced. If the opinion of ſo trifling a " writer as I am was of any conſequence, it " would then be worth Scotland's while to let " the world know, that when my book was " written, I had no reaſon to be partial to it:— " but, Sir, your country will truſt to the merit " of its natives, not to foreign teſtimonials, for " its reputation."

THIS letter was followed immediately by another from Dr. Robertſon's Bookſeller, Mr. Millar. It is dated 27th January 1759, a few days before the publication of the book, and conveys very flattering expreſſions of approbation from Dr. Warburton and Mr. Garrick, to both of whom copies had been privately ſent at the Author's requeſt;—expreſſions, which, though they cannot now add much to a reputation ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed, were gratifying at the time, and do honour to the candour and diſcernment of the writers.

" I HAVE received," (ſays Dr. Warburton, in a note addreſſed to Mr. Millar,) " and read with " great pleaſure, the new Hiſtory of Scotland, " and will not wait for the judgment of the pub" lic, to pronounce it a very excellent wor[k] " From the Author's apparent love of civil a[nd] " religious liberty, I ſuppoſe, that were it [not] " for fear of offence, (which every wiſe ma[n in] " his ſituation would fear to give,) he would [have] " ſpoken with much more freedom of the H[...]

"archical principles of the infant Church of "Scotland."

Mr. Garrick, beſide writing to Millar, addreſſed himſelf directly to the Author. "Upon "my word, I was never more entertained in all "my life; and though I read it aloud to a friend "and Mrs. Garrick, I finiſhed the three firſt "books at two ſittings. I could not help writing "to Millar, and congratulating him upon this "great acquiſition to his literary treaſures.—I "will aſſure you that there is no *love loſt* (as the "ſaying is) between you and Mrs. Garrick. "She is reſolved to ſee Scotland as ſoon as my "affairs will permit: nor do I find her inclina-"tion in the leaſt abated, though I read your "*Second Book* (in which her religion is ſo ex-"quiſitely handled) with all the malevolent exer-"tion I was maſter of—but it would not do; ſhe "thinks you right even in that, and ſtill reſolves "to ſee Scotland. In ſhort, if ſhe can give up "the Pope and his trumpery ſo readily to you, "what muſt her poor huſband think? I ſhall "keep in England, I aſſure you; for you have "convinced me how difficult it is to contend "with the Scots in their own country."

These agreeable anticipations of the public ice were, in a few weeks, fully confirmed by etter from Mr. Strahan, late printer to His eſty, and a partner of Mr. Millar's in the ›erty of the book. It is the oldeſt letter of Strahan's that I have obſerved among Dr. ˑˑtſon's papers. Many were afterwards written,

written, in the courſe of a correſpondence which continued twenty years, and which Dr. Robertſon always mentioned with much pleaſure, and with the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies to the worth, the liberality, and the diſcernment of his friend. The concluding ſentences expreſs ſtrongly the opinion which this very competent judge had previouſly formed of the probable reception of a Hiſtory of Scotland.

—— " I MOST ſincerely wiſh you joy of your " ſucceſs, and have not the leaſt doubt but it " will have all the good effects upon your future " fortune which you could poſſibly hope for or " expect. Much depended on the firſt perform- " ance; that trial is now happily over, and " henceforth you will ſail with a favourable gale. " In truth, to acquire ſuch a flood of approba- " tion from writing on a ſubject in itſelf ſo un- " popular inth is country, is neither a common " nor a contemptible conqueſt*."

BY the kindneſs of Mr. Strahan's ſon† I am enabled to quote the following paſſage from Dr. Robertſon's anſwer to the foregoing letter :

" WHEN we took leave, on finiſhing the print- " ing of my book, I had no expectation that it " was ſo ſoon to come through your hands a ſe- " cond time. The rapidity of its ſucceſs has " not ſurpriſed any man more than the Author of " it. I do not affect to think worſe of it than is " natural for him who made it ; and I never was

* See Appendix to the Life, Note B.

† Andrew Strahan, Eſq. M.P.

" much afraid of the ſubject, which is intereſt-
" ing to the Engliſh as well as Scots; but a much
" more moderate ſucceſs was all I looked for.
" However, ſince it has ſo far outgone my hopes,
" I enjoy it. I have flattered nobody in order
" to obtain it, and I have not ſpared to ſpeak
" truth of all factions and ſects."

It would be tedious and uſeleſs to tranſcribe the complimentary paſſages which occur in various other letters from the Author's friends. Lord Royſton, the late Sir Gilbert Elliot, Dr. Birch, Dr. Douglas, (now Biſhop of Saliſbury,) and Dr. John Blair, (late Prebendary of Weſtminſter,) were among the firſt to perceive and to predict the extent of that reputation he was about to eſtabliſh. A few paſſages from the letters addreſſed to him by Mr. Walpole and Mr. David Hume, as they enter more into detail concerning his merits as a writer, may, I think, be introduced into this memoir without impropriety.

" Having finiſhed" (ſays Mr. Walpole) " the
" firſt volume, and made a little progreſs in the
" ſecond, I cannot ſtay till I have finiſhed the
" letter to tell you how exceedingly I admire
" the work. Your modeſty will make you per-
" haps ſuppoſe theſe are words of compliment
" and of courſe; but as I can give you very
" good reaſons for my approbation, you may
" believe that I no more flatter your perform-
" ance, than I have read it ſuperficially, haſtily,
" or careleſsly.

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"The ſtyle is moſt pure, proper, and equal; " is very natural and eaſy, except now and then " where, as I may juſtly call it, you are forced " to *tranſlate* from bad writers. You will agree " with me, Sir, that an hiſtorian who writes from " other authorities cannot poſſibly always have " as flowing a ſtyle as an author whoſe narra- " tive is dictated from his own knowledge. " Your perſpicuity is moſt beautiful, your rela- " tion always intereſting, never languid; and " you have very extraordinarily united two " merits very difficult to be reconciled; I mean, " that, though you have formed your hiſtory " into pieces of information, each of which " would make a ſeparate memoir, yet the whole " is hurried on into one uninterrupted ſtory. " I aſſure you I value myſelf on the firſt diſtinc- " tion, eſpecially as Mr. Charles Townſhend " made the ſame remark. You have preſerved " the gravity of hiſtory without any formality, " and you have at the ſame time avoided what I " am now running into, antitheſis and conceit. " In ſhort, Sir, I don't know where or what " hiſtory is written with more excellencies:— " and when I ſay this, you may be ſure I do not " forget your impartiality.—But, Sir, I will " not wound your baſhfulneſs with more enco- " miums; yet the public will force you to hear " them. I never knew juſtice ſo rapidly paid " to a work of ſo deep and ſerious a kind; for " deep it is, and it muſt be great ſenſe that could " penetrate ſo far into human nature, conſi-

" dering how little you have been converſant " with the world."

The long and uninterrupted friendſhip which ſubſiſted between Dr. Robertſon and Mr. Hume is well known: and it is certainly a circumſtance highly honourable to both, when we conſider the wide diverſity of their ſentiments on the moſt important ſubjects, and the tendency which the coincidence of their hiſtorical labours would naturally have had to excite rivalſhip and jealouſy in leſs liberal minds. The paſſages I am now to quote from Mr. Hume's letters place in a moſt amiable light the characters both of the writer and of his correſpondent.

" You have very good cauſe to be ſatisfied " with the ſucceſs of your Hiſtory, as far as it can " be judged of from a few weeks' publication. " I have not heard of one who does not praiſe it " warmly; and were I to enumerate all thoſe " whoſe ſuffrages I have either heard in its fa- " vour, or been told of, I ſhould fill my letter " with a liſt of names. Mallet told me that he " was ſure there was no Engliſhman capable of " compoſing ſuch a work. The town will have it " that you was educated at Oxford, thinking it " impoſſible for a mere untravelled Scotchman to " produce ſuch language. In ſhort, you may de- " pend on the ſucceſs of your work, and that your " name is known very much to your advantage.

" I am diverting myſelf with the notion how " much you will profit by the applauſe of my ene- " mies in Scotland. Had you and I been ſuch

" fools

"fools as to have given way to jealoufy, to have "entertained animofity and malignity againft "each other, and to have rent all our acquaint-"ance into parties, what a noble amufement "we fhould have exhibited to the blockheads, "which now they are likely to be difappointed of. "All the people whofe friendfhip or judgment "either of us value, are friends to both, and will "be pleafed with the fuccefs of both, as we will "be with that of each other. I declare to you I "have not of a long time had a more fenfible "pleafure than the good reception of your Hif-"tory has given me within this fortnight."

I CANNOT deny myfelf the fatisfaction of tranfcribing a few paragraphs from another letter of Mr. Hume's, dated the 20th of the fame month. "I am afraid that my letters will be tedious and "difagreeable to you by their uniformity. No-"thing but continued and unvaried accounts of "the fame thing muft in the end prove difguft-"ing. Yet fince you will hear me fpeak on this "fubject, I cannot help it, and muft fatigue "your ears as much as ours are in this place by "endlefs, and repeated, and noify praifes of the "Hiftory of Scotland. Dr. Douglas told me "yefterday that he had feen the Bifhop of Nor-"wich, who had juft bought the book from the "high commendations he heard of it from Mr. "Legge. Mallet told me that Lord Mansfield "is at a lofs whether he fhall moft efteem the "matter or the ftyle. Elliot told me, that being "in company with George Grenville, that Gen-

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARA

"tleman was ſpeaking loud in the ſame key. Our "friend pretended ignorance; ſaid he knew the "Author, and if he thought the book good for "any thing, would ſend for it and read it. Send "for it by all means, (ſaid Mr. Grenville,) you "have not read a better book of a long time. "But, ſaid Elliot, I ſuppoſe, although the mat-"ter may be tolerable, as the Author was never "on this ſide the Tweed till he wrote it, it muſt "be very barbarous in the expreſſion. By no "means, cried Mr. Grenville; had the Author "lived all his life in London, and in the beſt "company, he could not have expreſſed himſelf "with greater elegance and purity. Lord Lyt-"telton ſeems to think that ſince the time of "St. Paul there ſcarce has been a better writer "than Dr. Robertſon. Mr. Walpole triumphs "in the ſucceſs of his favourites the Scotch, &c. "&c. &c."

* * * *

"The great ſucceſs of your book, beſides its "real merit, is forwarded by its prudence, and "by the deference paid to eſtabliſhed opinions. "It gains alſo by its being your firſt perform-"ance, and by its ſurpriſing the public, who are "not upon their guard againſt it. By reaſon of "theſe two circumſtances juſtice is more readily "done to its merit, which, however, is really ſo "great, that I believe there is ſcarce another "inſtance of a firſt performance being ſo near "perfection*."

* See Appendix to the Life, Note C.

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Of this work, ſo flattering to the Author by its firſt ſucceſs, no fewer than fourteen editions were publiſhed before his death, and he had the ſatisfaction to ſee its popularity increaſe to the laſt, notwithſtanding the repeated aſſaults it had to encounter from various writers, diſtinguiſhed by their controverſial acuteneſs, and ſeconded by all the prepoſſeſſions which are likely to influence the opinions of the majority of readers. The character of Mary has been delineated anew, and the tale of her misfortunes has again been told, with no common powers of expreſſion and pathos, by an Hiſtorian more indulgent to her errors, and more undiſtinguiſhing in his praiſe: but, after all, it is in the Hiſtory of Dr. Robertſon that every one ſtill reads the tranſactions of her reign; and ſuch is his ſkilful contraſt of light and ſhade, aided by the irreſiſtible charm of his narration, that the ſtory of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen, as related by him, excites on the whole a deeper intereſt in her fortunes, and a more lively ſympathy with her fate, than have been produced by all the attempts to canonize her memory, whether inſpired by the ſympathetic zeal of the Romiſh church, or the enthuſiaſm of Scottiſh chivalry.

In peruſing the letters addreſſed to Dr. Robertſon, on the publication of this book, it is ſomewhat remarkable that I have not found one in which he is charged with the ſlighteſt unfairneſs towards the Queen; and that, on the contrary, almoſt all his correſpondents accuſe him of an undue prepoſſeſſion in her favour. "I am

" afraid," (ſays Mr. Hume,) " that you, as well " as myſelf, have drawn Mary's character with " too great ſoftenings. She was undoubtedly a " violent woman at all times. You will ſee in " *Munden* proofs of the utmoſt rancour againſt " her innocent, good-natured, dutiful ſon. She " certainly diſinherited him. What think you " of a conſpiracy for kidnapping him, and deli- " vering him a priſoner to the King of Spain, " never to recover his liberty till he ſhould turn " Catholic?—— Tell Goodall, that if he can " but give me up Queen Mary, I hope to ſatisfy " him in every thing elſe; and he will have the " pleaſure of ſeeing John Knox and the Re- " formers made very ridiculous."

" It is plain," (ſays Mr. Walpole,) " that you " wiſh to excuſe Mary; and yet it is ſo plain that " you never violate truth in her favour, that I " own I think ſtill worſe of her than I did, ſince " I read your Hiſtory."

Dr. Birch expreſſes himſelf much to the ſame purpoſe. " If the ſecond volume of the " State Papers of Lord Burleigh, publiſhed ſince " Chriſtmas here, had appeared before your " Hiſtory had been finiſhed, it would have fur- " niſhed you with reaſons for entertaining a leſs " favourable opinion of Mary Queen of Scots in " one or two points, than you ſeem at preſent " poſſeſſed of."

Dr. John Blair too, in a letter dated from London, obſerves to Dr. Robertſon, that " the " only general objection to his work was founded " on his tenderneſs for Queen Mary." " Lord " Cheſ-

"Cheſterfield, (ſays he,) though he approves "much of your Hiſtory, told me, that he finds "this to be a bias which no Scotchman can get "the better of."

I WOULD not be underſtood, by quoting theſe paſſages, to give any opinion upon the ſubject to which they refer. It is a ſubject which I have never examined with attention, and which, I muſt confeſs, never excited my curioſity. Whatever judgment we form concerning the points in diſpute, it leads to no general concluſion concerning human affairs, nor throws any new light on human character. Like any other hiſtorical queſtion, in which the evidence has been induſtriouſly darkened by the arts of contending parties, the proofs of Mary's innocence or guilt may furniſh an amuſing and harmleſs employment to the leiſure of the antiquary; but at this diſtance of time, it is difficult to conceive how prejudice or compaſſion ſhould enter into the diſcuſſion, or ſhould magnify it into an object of important and ſerious reſearch. With reſpect to Dr. Robertſon's narrative, in particular, it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that whatever inaccuracies may be detected in it by the labours of ſucceeding inquirers, they can never furniſh to the partizans of Mary, any ground for impeaching his candour and good-faith as a Writer. All his prepoſſeſſions (if he had any on this ſubject) muſt have been in favour of the Queen; for it was chiefly from the powerful intereſt excited by her ſtory, that he could hope for popularity with the multitude; and it was only by the romantic pic-

tures which her name preſents to the fancy, that he could accommodate to the refinement of modern taſte, the annals of a period, where perfidy, cruelty, and bigotry, appear in all their horrors; unembelliſhed by thoſe attractions which, in other ſtates of ſociety, they have ſo often aſſumed, and which, how much ſoever they may afflict the moraliſt, yet facilitate and adorn the labours of the Hiſtorian.

Among the various circumſtances that diſtinguig Dr. Robertſon's genius and taſte in the execution of this work, the addreſs with which he interweaves the perſonal hiſtory of the Queen with the general events he records, is not the leaſt remarkable. Indeed, without the aid of ſo intereſting a character, the affairs of Scotland, during the period he treats of could not have derived, even from his hand, a ſufficient importance and dignity to engage the curioſity of the preſent age.

Another difficulty ariſing alſo from his ſubject, he appears to me to have ſurmounted with exquiſite ſkill. In relating the tranſactions of a foreign country, however remote the period, and however antiquated the manners, it is eaſy for an Hiſtorian to avoid in his narrative, whatever might leſſen the dignity of the actors, or lower the tone of his compoſition. The employment of expreſſions debaſed by common and trivial uſe is ſuperſeded by the neceſſity he is under to tranſlate from one language into another; and the moſt inſignificant of his details derive a charm from the novelty of the ſcenery. The writer too, who, in this iſland, employs his genius

genius on the ancient hiſtory of England, addreſſes himſelf to readers already enamoured of the ſubject, and who liſten with fond prepoſſeſſions to the recital of facts conſecrated in their imaginations by the tale of the nurſery. Even a deſcription of old Engliſh manners, expreſſed in the obſolete dialect of former centuries, pleaſes by its ſimplicity and truth; and while it preſents to us thoſe retroſpects of the paſt on which the mind loves to dwell, has no tendency to awaken any mean or ludicrous images. But the influence of Scottiſh aſſociations, ſo far as it is favourable to antiquity, is confined to Scotchmen alone, and furniſhes no reſources to the writer who aſpires to a place among the Engliſh claſſics. Nay, ſuch is the effect of that provincial ſituation to which Scotland is now reduced, that the tranſactions of former ages are apt to convey to ourſelves exaggerated conceptions of barbariſm, from the uncouth and degraded dialect in which they are recorded. To adapt the hiſtory of ſuch a country to the preſent ſtandard of Britiſh taſte, it was neceſſary for the Author not only to excite an intereſt for names which, to the majority of his readers, were formerly indifferent or unknown, but, what was ſtill more difficult, to unite in his portraits the truth of nature with the ſoftenings of art, and to reject whatever was unmeaning or offenſive in the drapery, without effacing the characteriſtic garb of the times. In this taſk of "conquering" (as Livy expreſſes it) "the rudeneſs of antiquity by the art of writing," they alone are able to judge how far Dr. Robertſon has ſucceeded,

ceeded, who have compared his work with the materials out of which it was formed.

Nor are theſe ſacrifices to modern taſte inconſiſtent with the fidelity of a hiſtory which records the tranſactions of former ages. On the contrary, they aid the judgment of the reader in forming a philoſophical eſtimate of the condition and character of our anceſtors, by counteracting that ſtrong bias of the mind which confounds human nature and human life with the adventitious and ever-changing attire which they borrow from faſhion. When we read the compoſitions of Buchanan in his native tongue;—abounding in idioms which are now appropriated to the moſt illiterate claſſes of the people, and accompanied with an orthography which ſuggeſts the coarſeſt forms of Scottiſh pronunciation;—how difficult do we find it to perſuade ourſelves, that we are converſing with a writer, whoſe Latin productions vie with the beſt models of antiquity! No fact can illuſtrate more ſtrongly the neceſſity of correcting our common impreſſions concerning the ancient ſtate of Scotland, by tranſlating, not only the antiquated ſtyle of our forefathers into a more modern phraſeology, but by tranſlating (if I may uſe the expreſſion) their antiquated faſhions into the correſponding faſhions of our own times.

The peculiar circumſtances of Scotland ſince the union of the crowns, are extremely apt to warp our ideas with reſpect to its previous History. The happy but ſlow effects produced by the union of the kingdoms do not extend beyond the memory of ſome of our contemporaries; and the

the traditions we have received concerning the condition of our immediate predeceſſors are apt to impreſs us with a belief, that, at a ſtill earlier period, the gloom was proportionably more deep and univerſal. It requires an effort of reflection to conceive the effects which muſt have reſulted from the reſidence of a court; and it is not, perhaps, eaſy for us to avoid under-rating the importance of that court while it exiſted. During the long and intimate intercourſe with England, which preceded the diſputed ſucceſſion between Bruce and Baliol, it was certainly not without its ſhare of that "barbaric pomp" which was then affected by the Engliſh Sovereigns; nor, under our later kings, connected as it was with the court of France, could it be altogether untinctured with thoſe envied manners and habits, of which that country has been always regarded as the parent ſoil, and which do not ſeem to be the native growth of either part of our iſland. Theſe circumſtances, accordingly, (aided, perhaps, in no inconſiderable degree, by the field of ambition preſented by an opulent Hierarchy,) appear to have operated powerfully on the national ſpirit and genius. The ſtudies which were then valued in other parts of Europe, were cultivated by many of our countrymen with diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs. Nor was their own vernacular tongue neglected by thoſe, whoſe rank or ſituation deſtined them for public affairs. At the æra, more particularly, when Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory cloſes, it was ſo rapidly aſſuming a more regular form, that, excepting by a different ſyſ-

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tem of orthography, and a few inconſiderable peculiarities of dialect, the epiſtolary ſtyle of ſome of our Scottiſh ſtateſmen is hardly diſtinguiſhable from that of Queen Elizabeth's miniſters.

THIS æra was followed by a long and melancholy period, equally fatal to morals and to refinement; and which had ſcarcely arrived at its complete termination when Dr. Robertſon appeared as an Author; aſpiring at once to adorn the monuments of former times, when Scotland was yet a kingdom, and to animate his countrymen by his example, in reviving its literary honours.

BEFORE quitting this firſt work of Dr. Robertſon, I muſt not omit to mention (what forms the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of its excellence) the ſevere trial it had to undergo in the public judgment, by appearing nearly at the ſame time with that volume of Mr. Hume's Hiſtory, which involves an account of Scottiſh affairs during the reigns of Q. Mary and K. James.—It is not my intention to attempt a parallel of theſe two eminent writers: nor, indeed, would the ſincerity of their mutual attachment, and the lively recollection of it which ſtill remains with many of their common friends, juſtify me in ſtating their reſpective merits in the way of oppoſition. Their peculiar excellencies, beſides, were of a kind ſo different, that they might be juſtly ſaid (in the language which a Roman Critic employs in ſpeaking of Livy and Salluſt) to be *pares magis quam ſimiles.* They divide between them the honour of having ſupplied an important blank in Engliſh literature, by enabling their countrymen to diſpute the palm of hiſtorical

writing

writing with the other nations of Europe. Many have ſince followed their example, in attempting to beſtow intereſt and ornament on different portions of Britiſh ſtory; but the public voice ſufficiently acquits me of any partiality when I ſay, that hitherto they have only been followed at a diſtance. In this reſpect, I may with confidence apply to them the panegyric which Quinctilian pronounces on the two great Hiſtorians of Ancient Greece;—and, perhaps, if I were inclined to characteriſe the beauties moſt prominent in each, I might, without much impropriety, avail myſelf of the contraſt with which that panegyric concludes.

"Historiam multi ſcripſere, ſed nemo dubitat, "duos longe cæteris præferendos, quorum diverſa "virtus laudem pene eſt parem conſecuta. Denſus "et brevis et ſemper inſtans ſibi Thucydides. "Dulcis et candidus et fuſus Herodotus. Ille "concitatis, hic remiſſis affectibus melior. Ille "vi, hic voluptate."

SECTION II.

Progreſs of Dr. Robertson's *Literary Plans and Undertakings.—Hiſtory of the Reigr of the Emperor* Charles V.

DURING the time that the Hiſtory of Scotland was in the preſs, Dr. Robertſon removed with his family from Gladſmuir to Edinburgh, in conſequence of a preſent-

ation

ation which he had received to one of the churches of that city. His preferments now multiplied rapidly. In 1759, he was appointed Chaplain of Stirling Caſtle; in 1761, one of His Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary for Scotland; and in 1762, he was choſen Principal of this Univerſity. Two years afterwards, the office of King's Hiſtoriographer for Scotland (with a ſalary of two hundred pounds a-year) was revived in his favour.

The revenue ariſing from theſe different appointments, though far exceeding what had ever been enjoyed before by any Preſbyterian Clergyman in Scotland, did not ſatisfy the zeal of ſome of Dr. Robertſon's admirers, who, mortified at the narrow field which this part of the iſland afforded to his ambition, wiſhed to open to it the career of the Engliſh church. References to ſuch a project, occur in letters addreſſed to him about this time by Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Hume, and Dr. John Blair. What anſwer he returned to them, I have not been able to learn; but, as the ſubject is mentioned once only by each of theſe gentlemen, it is probable that his diſapprobation was expreſſed in thoſe decided terms which became the conſiſtency and dignity of his character.

Dr. Robertson's own ambition was, in the mean time, directed to a different object. Soon after the publication of his Scottiſh Hiſtory, we find him conſulting his friends about the choice of another hiſtorical ſubject;—anxious to add new laurels to thoſe he had already acquired.

Dr. John

Dr. John Blair urged him ſtrongly on this occaſion to write a complete Hiſtory of England; and mentioned to him, as an inducement, a converſation between Lord Cheſterfield and Colonel Irwin, in which the former ſaid, that he would not ſcruple, if Dr. Robertſon would undertake ſuch a work, to move, in the Houſe of Peers, that he ſhould have public encouragement to enable him to carry it into execution. But this propoſal he was prevented from liſtening to, by his unwillingneſs to interfere with Mr. Hume; although it coincided with a favourite plan which he himſelf had formed at a very early period of his life. The two ſubjects which appear to have chiefly divided his choice were, the Hiſtory of Greece, and that of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Between theſe he heſitated long, balancing their comparative advantages and diſadvantages, and availing himſelf of all the lights that his correſpondents could impart to him. Mr. Walpole and Mr. Hume took a more peculiar intereſt in his deliberations, and diſcuſſed the ſubject with him at length in various letters. I ſhall extract a few paſſages from theſe. The opinions of ſuch writers upon ſuch a queſtion cannot fail to be generally intereſting; and ſome of the hints they ſuggeſt may perhaps be uſeful to thoſe who, conſcious of their own powers, are diſpoſed to regret that the field of hiſtorical compoſition is exhauſted.

The following paſſages are copied from a letter of Mr. Walpole, dated 4th March 1759.

"If I can throw in any additional temptation "to your difpofition for writing, it is worth my "while, even at the hazard of my judgment and "my knowledge, both of which however are fmall "enough to make me tender of them. Before "I read your Hiftory, I fhould probably have "been glad to dictate to you, and (I will ven-"ture to fay it—it fatirizes nobody but my-"felf) fhould have thought I did honour to an "obfcure Scotch Clergyman, by directing his "ftudies with my fuperior lights and abilities. "How you have faved me, Sir, from making a "ridiculous figure, by making fo great an one "yourfelf! But could I fufpect, that a man I "believe much younger, and whofe dialect I "fcarce underftood, and who came to me with "all the diffidence and modefty of a very "middling author, and who I was told had "paffed his life in a fmall living near Edin-"burgh; could I fufpect that he had not only "written what all the world now allows the "beft modern hiftory, but that he had written "it in the pureft Englifh, and with as much "feeming knowledge of men and courts as "if he had paffed all his life in important "embaffies? In fhort, Sir, I have not power to "make you, what you ought to be, a Minifter "of State—but I will do all I can, I will "ftimulate you to continue writing, and I fhall "do it without prefumption.

"I should like either of the fubjects you "mention, and I can figure one or two others

"that

" that would ſhine in your hands. In one light
" the Hiſtory of Greece ſeems preferable. You
" know all the materials for it that can poſſibly
" be had. It is concluded; it is clear of all
" objections; for perhaps nobody but I ſhould
" run wildly into paſſionate fondneſs for liberty,
" if I was writing about Greece. It even
" might, I think, be made agreeably new, and
" *that* by comparing the extreme difference of
" their manners and ours, particularly in the
" article of finances, a ſyſtem almoſt new in
" the world.

. . . .

" WITH regard to the Hiſtory of Charles V.,
" it is a magnificent ſubject, and worthy of you.
" It is more: it is fit for you; for you have
" ſhewn that you can write on ticklish ſubjects
" with the utmoſt diſcretion, and on ſubjects of
" religious party with temper and impartiality.
" Beſides, by what little I have ſkimmed of
" Hiſtory myſelf, I have ſeen how many miſ-
" takes, how many prejudices, may eaſily be
" detected: and though much has been written
" on that age, probably truth ſtill remains to
" be written of it. Yet I have an objection
" to this ſubject. Though Charles V. was in a
" manner the Emperor of Europe, yet he was
" a German or a Spaniard. Conſider, Sir,
" by what you muſt have found in writing
" the Hiſtory of Scotland, how difficult it
" would be for the moſt penetrating genius of
" another country to give an adequate idea of
" Scottiſh ſtory. So much of all tranſactions

"muſt take their riſe from, and depend on, "national laws, cuſtoms, and ideas, that I am "perſuaded a native would always diſcover "great miſtakes in a foreign writer. Greece, "indeed, is a foreign country; but no Greek "is alive to diſprove one.

"THERE are two other ſubjects which I have "ſometimes had a mind to treat myſelf; though "my naming one of them will tell you why I did "not. It was *the Hiſtory of Learning*. Perhaps, "indeed, it is a work which could not be exe-"cuted unleſs intended by a young man from "his firſt looking on a book with reflection. The "other is the Hiſtory of what I may in one light "call the moſt remarkable period of the world, "by containing a ſucceſſion of five good Princes: "I need not ſay, they were Nerva, Trajan, "Adrian, and the two Antonines. Not to men-"tion, that no part almoſt of the Roman Hiſ-"tory has been well written from the death of "Domitian, this period would be the faireſt pat-"tern for uſe, if Hiſtory can ever effect what ſhe "ſo much pretends to, doing good. I ſhould "be tempted to call it the *Hiſtory of Humanity*; "for though Trajan and Adrian had private "vices that diſgraced them as men, as Princes "they approached to perfection. Marcus Au-"relius arrived ſtill nearer, perhaps with a little "oſtentation; yet vanity is an amiable machine, "if it operates to benevolence. Antoninus Pius "ſeems to have been as good as human nature "royalized can be. Adrian's perſecution of the "Chriſtians would be objected, but then it is "much

"much controverted. I am no admirer of elective monarchies; and yet it is remarkable, that when Aurelius's diadem descended to his natural heir, not to the heir of his virtues, the line of beneficence was extinguished; for I am sorry to say that *hereditary* and *bad* are almost synonymous. — But I am sensible, Sir, that I am a bad adviser for you; the chastity, the purity, the good sense and regularity of your manner, that unity you mention, and of which you are the greatest master, should not be led astray by the licentious frankness, and, I hope, honest indignation of my way of thinking. I may be a fitter companion than a guide; and it is with most sincere zeal, that I offer myself to contribute any assistance in my power towards polishing your future work, whatever it shall be. You want little help; I can give little; and indeed I, who am taxed with incorrectnesses, should not assume airs of a corrector. My *Catalogue* I intended should have been exact enough in style: it has not been thought so by some: I tell you, that you may not trust me too much. Mr. Gray, a very perfect judge, has sometimes censured me for parliamentary phrases, familiar to me, as your Scotch law is to you. I might plead for my inaccuracies, that the greatest part of my book was written with people talking in the room; but that is no excuse to myself, who intended it for correct. However, it is easier to remark inaccuracies in the work of another than in one's own; and, since you command me, I

 "will

"will go again over your ſecond volume, with "an eye to the ſlips, a light in which I certainly "did not intend my ſecond examination of it."

In tranſcribing ſome of theſe paragraphs, as well as in the other extracts I have borrowed from Mr. Walpole's letters, I muſt acknowledge, that I have been leſs influenced by my own private judgment, than by my deference for the partiality which the public has long entertained for this popular and faſhionable Writer. Of the literary talents of an author on whom ſo much flattery has been laviſhed, it does not become me to ſpeak diſreſpectfully; nor would I be underſtood to detract from his merits in his own peculiar and very limited walk of hiſtorical diſquiſition: but I ſhould be wanting to myſelf, if I were not to avow, that in the foregoing quotation, my object was rather to gratify the curioſity of others, than to record a teſtimony which I conſider as of any importance to Dr. Robertſon's fame. The value of praiſe, beſides, whatever be the abilities of him who beſtows it, depends on the opinion we entertain of his candour and ſincerity; qualities which it will be difficult to allow to Mr. Walpole, after comparing the various paſſages quoted in this memoir, with the ſentiments he expreſſes on the ſame ſubject, in his poſthumous publication.

For the length of the following extract from a letter of Mr. Hume's, no ſuch apology is neceſſary. The matter is valuable in itſelf;—and the objections ſtated to the age of Charles V.

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as a ſubject for hiſtory, form the higheſt poſſible panegyric on the abilities of the Writer, by whom the difficulties which appeared ſo formidable to Mr. Hume, were ſo ſucceſsfully ſurmounted.

"I HAVE frequently thought, and talked with "our common friends upon the ſubject of your "letter. There always occurred to us ſeveral "difficulties with regard to every ſubject we "could propoſe. The Ancient Greek Hiſtory "has ſeveral recommendations, particularly the "good authors from which it muſt be drawn: "but this ſame circumſtance becomes an ob-"jection, when more narrowly conſidered: for "what can you do in moſt places with theſe "authors but tranſcribe and tranſlate them? "No letters or ſtate-papers from which you "could correct their errors, or authenticate "their narration, or ſupply their defects. Be-"ſides, Rollin is ſo well wrote with reſpect to "ſtyle, that with ſuperficial people it paſſes for "ſufficient. There is one Dr. Leland, who has "lately wrote the Life of Philip of Macedon, "which is one of the beſt periods. The book, "they tell me, is perfectly well wrote; yet it "has had ſuch ſmall ſale, and has ſo little ex-"cited the attention of the public, that the "Author has reaſon to think his labour thrown "away. I have not read the book; but by "the ſize, I ſhould judge it to be too particular. "It is a pretty large quarto. I think a book "of that ſize ſufficient for the whole Hiſtory of "Greece till the death of Philip: and I doubt

"not

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SAR...

" not but ſuch a work would be ſucceſsful, " notwithſtanding all theſe diſcouraging cir- " cumſtances. The ſubject is noble, and Rollin " is by no means equal to it.

" I OWN, I like ſtill leſs your project of the " Age of Charles the Fifth. That ſubject is " disjointed; and your Hero, who is the ſole " connexion, is not very intereſting. A com- " petent knowledge at leaſt is required of the " ſtate and conſtitution of the Empire; of " the ſeveral kingdoms of Spain, of Italy, of " the Low Countries; which it would be the " work of half a life to acquire; and, though " ſome parts of the ſtory may be entertaining, " there would be many dry and barren; and the " whole ſeems not to have any great charms.

" BUT I would not willingly ſtart objections " to theſe ſchemes, unleſs I had ſomething to " propoſe which would be plauſible; and I ſhall " mention to you an idea, which has ſometimes " pleaſed me, and which I had once entertained " thoughts of attempting. You may obſerve that " among modern readers, Plutarch is in every " tranſlation the chief favourite of the Ancients. " Numberleſs tranſlations, and numberleſs edi- " tions have been made of him in all languages; " and no tranſlation has been ſo ill done as not " to be ſucceſsful. Though thoſe who read the " originals never put him in compariſon either " with Thucydides or Xenophon, he always at- " taches more the reader in the tranſlation; a " proof that the idea and execution of his work " is, in the main, happy. Now, I would have

" you

"you think of writing modern lives, ſomewhat "after that manner: not to enter into a detail "of the actions, but to mark the manners of the "great Perſonages by domeſtic ſtories, by re-"markable ſayings, and by a general ſketch of "their lives and adventures. You ſee that in "Plutarch the Life of Cæſar may be read in half "an hour. Were you to write the Life of Henry "the Fourth of France after that model, you "might pillage all the pretty ſtories in Sully, "and ſpeak more of his miſtreſſes than of his "battles. In ſhort, you might gather the flower "of all Modern Hiſtory, in this manner: The "remarkable Popes, the Kings of Sweden, the "great diſcoverers and conquerors of the New "World; even the eminent men of letters might "furniſh you with matter, and the quick diſ-"patch of every different work would encou-"rage you to begin a new one. If one volume "were ſucceſsful, you might compoſe another "at your leiſure, and the field is inexhauſtible. "There are perſons whom you might meet with "in the corners of Hiſtory, ſo to ſpeak, who "would be a ſubject of entertainment quite "unexpected; and as long as you live, you "might give and receive amuſement by ſuch a "work. Even your ſon, if he had a talent for "hiſtory, would ſucceed to the ſubject, and his "ſon to him. I ſhall inſiſt no farther on this "idea; becauſe, if it ſtrikes your fancy, you "will eaſily perceive all its advantages, and, by "farther thought, all its difficulties."

AFTER

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

After much deliberation, Dr. Robertſon reſolved to undertake the Hiſtory of Charles V.—a determination not leſs fortunate for the public than for his own fame; as it engaged him unexpectedly perhaps, in a train of reſearches not confined to the period, or to the quarter of the globe that he had originally in view; but which, opening as he advanced new and more magnificent proſpects, attracted his curioſity to two of the greateſt and moſt intereſting ſubjects of ſpeculation in the Hiſtory of Human Affairs;—the enterprizes of modern ambition in the Weſtern World, and the traces of ancient wiſdom and arts exiſting in the Eaſt.

The progreſs of the work, however, was interrupted for ſome time, about a year after its commencement, by certain circumſtances which induced him to liſten more favourably than formerly to the entreaties of thoſe friends who urged him to attempt a Hiſtory of England. The motives that weighed with him on this occaſion are fully explained in a correſpondence ſtill extant, in which there are various particulars tending to illuſtrate his character and his literary views.

From a letter of the late Lord Cathcart to Dr. Robertſon, (dated 20th July 1761,) the revival of this project would appear to have originated in a manner not a little flattering to the vanity of an author.

. . . . . "Lord Bute told me the King's "thoughts, as well as his own, with reſpect to "your Hiſtory of Scotland, and a wiſh His "Majeſty

" Majeſty had expreſſed to ſee a Hiſtory of Eng-
" land by your pen. His Lordſhip aſſured me,
" every ſource of information which Govern-
" ment can command would be opened to you;
" and that great, laborious, and extenſive as the
" work muſt be, he would take care your en-
" couragement ſhould be proportioned to it.
" He ſeemed to be aware of ſome objections
" you once had, founded on the apprehenſion
" of claſhing or interfering with Mr. David
" Hume, who is your friend; but as your per-
" formance and his will be upon plans ſo differ-
" ent from each other, and as *his* will, in point
" of time, have ſo much the ſtart of yours,
" theſe objections did not ſeem to him ſuch as,
" upon reflection, were likely to continue to
" have much weight with you. · · · · · ·

· · · · · · · " I MUST add, that though I did
" not think it right to enquire particularly into
" Lord Bute's intentions before I knew a little
" of your mind, it appeared to me plain, that
" they were higher than any views which can
" open to you in Scotland, and which, I believe,
" he would think inconſiſtent with the atten-
" tion the other ſubject would neceſſarily re-
" quire." · · · · · ·

A PAPER which has been accidentally preſerved among the letters addreſſed to Dr. Robertſon by his friends, enables me to ſtate his ſentiments with reſpect to the foregoing propoſal, in his own words. It is in Dr. Robertſon's hand-writing, and is marked on the back as " An imperfect Sketch of his Anſwer to

" Lord

"Lord Cathcart's Letter of July 20th." The following extracts contain all thofe parts of it which are connected with the project of the Englifh Hiftory.

. . . . . . "After the firft publication of the "Hiftory of Scotland, and the favourable re-"ception it met with, I had both very tempting "offers from bookfellers, and very confident "affurances of public encouragement, if I "would undertake the Hiftory of England. "But as Mr. Hume, with whom, notwith-"ftanding the contrariety of our fentiments "both in religion and politics, I live in great "friendfhip, was at that time in the middle of "the fubject, no confideration of intereft or "reputation would induce me to break in "upon a field of which he had taken prior "poffeffion; and I determined that my inter-"ference with him fhould never be any ob-"ftruction to the fale or fuccefs of his work. "Nor do I yet repent my having refifted fo many "folicitations to alter this refolution. But the "cafe I now think is entirely changed. His "Hiftory will have been publifhed feveral years "before any work of mine on the fame fubject "can appear; its firft run will not be marred by "any juftling with me, and it will have taken "that ftation in the literary fyftem which be-"longs to it. This objection, therefore, which "I thought, and ftill think, fo weighty at that "time, makes no impreffion on me at prefent, "and I can now juftify my undertaking the "Englifh Hiftory to myfelf, to the world, and

"to him. Befides, our manner of viewing the "fame fubject is fo different or peculiar, that "(as was the cafe in our laft books) both may "maintain their own rank, have their own par- "tifans, and poffefs their own merit, without "hurting each other.

"I AM fenfible how extenfive and laborious "the undertaking is, and that I could not pro- "pofe to execute it in the manner I could wifh, "and the public will expect, unlefs I fhall be "enabled to confecrate my whole time and in- "duftry to it. Though I am not weary of my "profeffion, nor wifh ever to throw off my eccle- "fiaftical character, yet I have often wifhed to "be free of the labour of daily preaching, and "to have it in my power to apply myfelf wholly "to my ftudies. This the encouragement Your "Lordfhip mentions will put in my power. But "as my chief refidence muft ftill be in Scotland, "where I would choofe, both for my own fake "and that of my family, to live and to compofe; "as a vifit of three or four months now and then "to England will be fully fufficient for confult- "ing fuch manufcripts as have never been pub- "lifhed; I fhould not wifh to drop all connexion "with the church of which I am a member, "but ftill to hold fome ftation in it, without "being reduced entirely to the profeffion of an "Author.

"ANOTHER circumftance muft be mentioned "to Your Lordfhip. As I have begun the Hif- "tory of Charles V., and have above one-third "of it finifhed, I would not choofe to lofe what

"I have

"I have done. It will take at leaſt two years "to bring that work to perfection; and after "that I ſhall begin the other, which was my "firſt choice, long before Mr. Hume undertook "it, though I was then too diffident of myſelf, "and too idle to make any progreſs in the exe- "cution of it, farther than forming ſome general "ideas as to the manner in which it ſhould be "proſecuted.

"As to the eſtabliſhment to be made in my "favour, it would ill become me to ſay any "thing. Whether the preſent time be a proper "one for ſettling the matter finally, I know not. "I beg leave only to ſay, that however much I "may wiſh to have a point fixed ſo much for my "honour, and which will give ſuch ſtability to "all my future ſchemes, I am not impatient to "enter into poſſeſſion, before I can ſet to work "with that particular taſk for which my appoint- "ments are to be given."

In a letter addreſſed to Mr. Baron Mure, (dated Nov. 25, 1761,) Dr. Robertſon has explained himſelf ſtill more fully on ſome points touched on in the foregoing correſpondence.

"I need ſay no more of my reaſons for not "undertaking the Hiſtory of England imme- "diately after the publication of my laſt book, "or the circumſtances which induce me to "think that I may now engage in it with pro- "priety. Theſe I have already explained, "and I hope they are approved of. The only "thing about which I have any difficulty is, "the propoſal of my reſiding in London with

" my family during the time I ſhall be employed " in my intended work. If ſuch a proſpect had " opened to me a dozen of years ago, I ſhould " have reckoned it a very fortunate accident, " and would have embraced it without heſita- " tion. But, at my time of life, accuſtomed to " the manners of my own country, and living " with eaſe and credit and in good company " here, I am unwilling to think of entering " upon new habits, of forming new connec- " tions and friendſhips, and of mingling with a " ſociety which, by what I have ſeen of it, I " do not reliſh ſo much as that to which I am " more familiar. This is the light in which, " if I were ſtill a ſingle man, I muſt have " viewed the matter. But in my preſent ſitua- " tion, with a wife and four children, my diffi- " culties increaſe; and I muſt conſider not " only what would be agreeable to myſelf, but " what may be of advantage to them. You " know how greatly the expence of houſe-keep- " ing at London exceeds that at Edinburgh, " and how much the charge of educating " children increaſes. You know with what " eaſe women of a middling fortune mingle " with good company in Edinburgh; how im- " poſſible that is in London; and even how " great the expence is of their having any " proper ſociety at all. As I happen to have " three daughters, theſe circumſtances muſt " occur to me, and have their own weight. " Beſides this, if it ſhall pleaſe God to ſpare " my life a few years, I ſhall be able to leave

"my family, if it continue in Scotland, in a "ſituation more independent than I could ever "expect from any ſucceſs or encouragement, "if they ſhall ſettle in England.

. . . . "Were I to carve out my own "fortune, I ſhould wiſh to continue one of "His Majeſty's Chaplains for Scotland, but to "reſign my charge as a Miniſter of Edinburgh, "which engroſſes more of my time than one "who is a ſtranger to the many minute duties "of that office can well imagine. I would "wiſh to apply my whole time to literary pur-"ſuits, which is at preſent parcelled out among "innumerable occupations. In order to enable "me to make this reſignation, ſome appoint-"ment muſt be aſſigned me for life. What "that ſhould be, it neither becomes me, nor "do I pretend to ſay. One thing, however, "I wiſh with ſome earneſtneſs, that the thing "might be executed ſoon, both as it will give "me great vigour in my ſtudies to have "my future fortune aſcertained in ſuch an "honourable manner, and becauſe, by allow-"ing me to apply myſelf wholly to my "preſent work, it will enable me to finiſh it "in leſs time, and to begin ſo much the ſooner "to my new taſk."

In what manner this plan, after being ſo far advanced, came to be finally abandoned, I have not been able to diſcover. The letters from which the foregoing extracts are taken, ſeem to have been preſerved by mere accident; and after the date of the laſt, I find a blank till 1763 in Dr. Robert-

Robertſon's correſpondence with Lord Cathcart. Some letters which paſſed between them about that time are now in my poſſeſſion. They relate chiefly to a ſcheme which was then in agitation, and which was ſoon after accompliſhed, of reviving in Dr. Robertſon's favour the office of Hiſtoriographer for Scotland; but from various incidental paſſages in them, it appears clearly that he ſtill looked forwards to a Hiſtory of England as the next ſubject he was to undertake after that of Charles V. It is not impoſſible that the reſignation of Lord Bute in 1764 may have contributed ſomewhat to alter his views, by impoſing on him the neceſſity of a new negociation through a different channel. The Hiſtory of Charles V. beſides, employed him much longer than he foreſaw; partly in conſequence of his avocations as Principal of the Univerſity, and partly of thoſe ariſing from his connection with the church, in which, at that period, faction ran high. In the execution too of this work, he found that the tranſactions relating to America, which he had originally intended as the ſubject of an epiſode, were of ſuch magnitude as to require a ſeparate narrative: and when at laſt he had brought to a termination the long and various labours in which he was thus involved, his health was too much impaired, and his life too far advanced, to allow him to think of an undertaking ſo vaſt in itſelf, and which Mr. Hume had already executed with ſo ſplendid and ſo merited a reputation.

The delays which retarded the publication of the Hiſtory of Charles V., together with the

 Author's

Author's eſtabliſhed popularity as a writer, had raiſed the curioſity of the public to a high pitch before that work appeared; and perhaps there never was a book, unconnected with the circumſtances of the times, that was expected with more general impatience. It is unneceſſary for me to ſay, that theſe expectations were not diſappointed; nor would it be worth while to ſwell this memoir with a repetition of the *eulogiums* laviſhed on the Author in the literary journals of the day. The ſentiments of his own perſonal friends, as expreſſed in the openneſs and confidence of a private epiſtolary correſpondence cannot fail to be more intereſting; and I ſhall accordingly, on this, as on other occaſions, avail myſelf of whatever paſſages in his papers appear to me to be uſeful, either for illuſtrating his literary progreſs, or his habits and connections in private life.

The paragraphs which immediately follow are part of a letter from Mr. Hume, without any date; but written, as appears from the contents, while the Hiſtory of Charles V. was ſtill in the preſs. The levity of the ſtyle forms ſuch a ſtriking contraſt to the character which this grave and philoſophical Hiſtorian ſuſtains in his publications, that I have ſometimes heſitated about the propriety of ſubjecting to the criticiſms of the world ſo careleſs an effuſion of gaiety and affection. I truſt, however, that to ſome it will not be wholly unintereſting to enjoy a glimpſe of the writer and his correſpondent in the habits of private intercourſe; and that to them the play-

ful and good-natured irony of Mr. Hume will ſuggeſt not unpleaſing pictures of the hours which they borrowed from buſineſs and ſtudy. Dr. Robertſon uſed frequently to ſay, that in Mr. Hume's gaiety there was ſomething which approached to *infantine*; and that he had found the ſame thing ſo often exemplified in the circle of his other friends, that he was almoſt diſpoſed to conſider it as characteriſtical of genius. It has certainly lent an amiable grace to ſome of the moſt favourite names in Ancient Story.

——Atqui
Primores Populi arripuit, Populumque tributim—
Quin ubi ſe a vulgo et ſcenâ in ſecreta remorant
Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis ſapientia Læli,
Nugari cum illo et diſcincti ludere, donec
Decoquerctur olus, ſoliti.——

"I got yeſterday from Strahan about thirty "ſheets of your Hiſtory to be ſent over to Suard, "and laſt night and this morning have run them "over with great avidity. I could not deny my-"ſelf the ſatisfaction (which I hope alſo will not "diſpleaſe you) of expreſſing preſently my ex-"treme approbation of them. To ſay only they "are very well written, is by far too faint an "expreſſion, and much inferior to the ſentiments "I feel: they are compoſed with nobleneſs, with "dignity, with elegance, and with judgment, to "which there are few equals. They even excel, "and, I think, in a ſenſible degree, your Hiſtory "of Scotland. I propoſe to myſelf great plea-"ſure in being the only man in England, during

" ſome months, who will be in the ſituation of " doing you juſtice, after which you may cer- " tainly expect that my voice will be drowned " in that of the public.

" You know that you and I have always been " on the footing of finding in each other's pro- " ductions *ſomething to blame, and ſomething to* " *commend*; and therefore you may perhaps " expect alſo ſome ſeaſoning of the former kind; " but really neither my leiſure nor inclination " allowed me to make ſuch remarks, and I ſin- " cerely believe you have afforded me very ſmall " materials for them. However, ſuch particu- " lars as occur to my memory I ſhall mention. " *Maltreat* is a Scotticiſm which occurs once. " What the devil have you to do with that old- " faſhioned dangling word *wherewith?* I ſhould " as ſoon take back *whereupon*, *whereunto*, and " *wherewithal.* I think the only tolerable, de- " cent gentleman of the family is *wherein*; and " I ſhould not chuſe to be often ſeen in his " company. But I know your affection for " *wherewith* proceeds from your partiality to " Dean Swift, whom I can often laugh with, " whoſe ſtyle I can even approve, but ſurely can " never admire. It has no harmony, no elo- " quence, no ornament; and not much correct- " neſs, whatever the Engliſh may imagine. Were " not their literature ſtill in a ſomewhat barba- " rous ſtate, that Author's place would not be " ſo high among their claſſics. But what a fancy " is this you have taken of ſaying always *an* " *hand, an heart, an head?* Have you *an ear?*

" Do

" Do you not know that this (n) is added before
" vowels to prevent the Cacophony, and ought
" never to take place before (h) when that letter
" is founded? It is never pronounced in thefe
" words: why fhould it be wrote? Thus, I
" fhould fay, a *hiftory*, and an *hiftorian*; and fo
" would you too, if you had any fenfe. But you
" tell me, that Swift does otherwife. To be fure
" there is no reply to that; and we muft fwallow
" your *hath* too upon the fame authority. I will
" fee you d——d fooner.—But I will endeavour
" to keep my temper.

" I do not like this fentence in page 149. *This*
" *ftep was taken in confequence of the treaty*
" *Wolfey had concluded with the Emperor at*
" *Bruffels, and which had hitherto been kept fecret.*
" Si fic omnia dixiffes, I fhould never have been
" plagued with hearing your praifes fo often
" founded, and that fools preferred your ftyle
" to mine. Certainly it had been better to have
" faid, *which Wolfey, &c.* That relative ought
" very feldom to be omitted, and is here par-
" ticularly requifite to preferve a fymmetry
" between the two members of the fentence.
" You omit the relative too often, which is a
" colloquial barbarifm, as Mr. Johnfon calls it.

" Your periods are fometimes, though not
" often, too long. Suard will be embarraffed
" with them, as the modifh French ftyle runs
" into the other extreme." . . . . . .*

. . . .

Another

* Confidering the critical attention which Mr. Hume appears to have given to the *minutiæ* of ftyle, it is fomewhat furprifing that

Another letter of Mr. Hume's, (dated 28th March 1769,) relates to the fame fubject. "I "find then that you are not contented without "a particular detail of your own praifes, and "that the very fhort but pithy letter I wrote you "gives you no fatisfaction. But what can I "fay more? The fuccefs has anfwered my "expectations: and I, who converfe with the "Great, the Fair, and the Learned, have fcarcely "heard an oppofite voice, or even whifper to "the general fentiment. Only I have heard "that the Sanhedrim at Mrs. Macaulay's con-"demns you as little lefs a friend to Govern-"ment and Monarchy than myfelf." . . . .

Mr. Walpole's congratulations on this occafion were no lefs warm than Mr. Hume's; but as they are expreffed in more general terms, they do not fupply materials equally interefting for a quotation. The only letter, befides, from Mr. Walpole relative to Charles V. that has come into my hands, was written before he had proceeded farther in the perufal than the firft volume. What the impreffions were which that

that he fhould himfelf fail fo frequently both in purity and grammatical correctnefs. In thefe refpects, his hiftorical compofitions will not bear a comparifon with thofe of Dr. Robertfon; although they abound, in every page, with what Mr. Gibbon calls "carelefs, inimitable beauties." In his familiar letters the inaccuracies are more numerous than might have been expected from one accuftomed fo much to write with a view to publication; nor are thefe negligences *always* compenfated by that happy lightnefs and eafe which he feems to have been ftudious to attain.

part

part of the work had left upon his mind, may be judged of from the following paragraph:

"GIVE me leave, Sir, without flattery, to ob- "ferve to yourfelf, what is very natural to fay "to others. You are almoft the fingle, certainly "the greateft inftance, that found parts and "judgment can attain every perfection of a "writer, though it be buried in the privacy of "retired life and deep ftudy. You have neither "the prejudices of a reclufe, nor want any of "the tafte of a man of the world. Nor is this "polifhed eafe confined to your works, which "parts and imitation might poffibly feize. In "the few hours I paffed with you laft fummer I "was ftruck with your familiar acquaintance "with men, and with every topic of converfa- "tion. Of your Scottifh Hiftory I have often "faid, that it feemed to me to have been written "by an able ambaffador, who had feen much of "affairs. I do not expect to find lefs of that "penetration in your Charles. Why fhould I "not fay thus much to you? Why fhould the "language of flattery forbid truth to fpeak its "mind, merely becaufe flattery has ftolen truth's "expreffions? Why fhould you be deprived of "the fatisfaction of hearing the impreffion your "merit has made? You have fenfe enough to "be confcious that you deferve what I have "faid; and though modefty will forbid you to "fubfcribe to it, juftice to me and to my "character, which was never that of a flatterer, "will oblige you filently to feel, that I can

"have no motive but that of paying homage to "ſuperior abilities."

Lord Lyttleton was another correſpondent with whom Dr. Robertſon had occaſional communications. The firſt of his letters was an acknowledgment to him for a preſent of Charles V.; and is valuable on account of its coincidence with a letter of Mr. Hume's formerly quoted, in which he recommended to Dr. Robertſon to write lives in the manner of Plutarch.

"I don't wonder that your ſenſe of the public "expectation gives you ſome apprehenſions; "but I know that the Hiſtorian of Mary Queen "of Scots cannot fail to do juſtice to any great "ſubject; and no greater can be found in the "records of mankind than this you have now "choſen. Go on, dear Sir, to enrich the Engliſh "language with more tracts of modern Hiſtory. "We have nothing good in that way, except "what relates to the iſland of Great Britain. "You have talents and youth enough to under-"take the agreeable and uſeful taſk of giving "us all the lives of the moſt illuſtrious Princes "who have flouriſhed ſince the age of Charles V. "in every part of the world, and comparing "them together, as Plutarch has done the moſt "celebrated Heroes of Greece and Rome. This "will diffuſe your glory as a Writer farther than "any other work. All nations will have an "equal intereſt in it; and feel a gratitude to "the ſtranger who takes pains to immortalize "the virtues of thoſe to whom he is only related

"by the general ſympathy of ſentiment and "eſteem. Plutarch was a Greek, which made "him leſs impartial between his countrymen "and the Romans in weighing their compara- "tive merit, than you would be in contraſting "a Frenchman with a German, or an Italian "with a Spaniard, or a Dutchman with a Swede. "Select, therefore, thoſe great men out of dif- "ferent countries, whoſe characters and actions "may be beſt compared together, and preſent "them to our view, without that diſguiſe which "the partiality of their countrymen or the "malice of their enemies may have thrown "upon them. If I can animate you to this, "poſterity will owe me a very great obligation."

I SHALL cloſe theſe extracts with a ſhort letter from Voltaire, dated 26th February 1770, from the *Chateau de Ferney*.

"IL y a quatre jours que j'ai reçu le beau pré- "ſent dont vous m'avez honoré. Je le lis "malgré lès fluxions horribles qui me font "craindre de perdre entièrement les yeux. Il "me fait oublier tous mes maux. C'eſt à vous "et à M. Hume qu'il appartient d'ecrire l'Hiſ- "toire. Vous etes eloquent, ſavant, et impar- "tial. Je me joins à l'Europe pour vous "eſtimer."

WHILE Dr. Robertſon's fame was thus rapidly extending wherever the language in which he wrote was underſtood and cultivated, he had the ſingular good fortune to find in M. Suard, a writer fully capable of transfuſing into a lan-

guage

guage ftill more univerfal, all the fpirit and elegance of the original. It appears from a letter preferved among Dr. Robertfon's papers, that M. Suard was felected for this undertaking, by the well-known Baron d'Holbach. He has fince made ample additions to his fame by his own productions; but, if I am not miftaken, it was his tranflation of Charles V. which firft eftablifhed his reputation, and procured him a feat in the French Academy*.

THE high rank which this fecond publication of Dr. Robertfon's has long maintained in the lift of our Englifh Claffics, is fufficient to juftify the warm encomiums I have already tranfcribed from the letters of his friends. To the general expreffions of praife, however, which they have beftowed on it, I fhall take the liberty of adding a few remarks on fome of thofe fpecific excellencies by which it appears to me to be more peculiarly diftinguifhed.

AMONG thofe excellencies, a moft important one arifes from the addrefs difplayed by the Author in furmounting a difficulty, which has embarraffed, more or lefs, all the Hiftorians who have attempted to record the tranfactions of the two laft centuries. In confequence of thofe relations which connect together the different countries of modern Europe as parts of one great fyftem, a general knowledge of the contemporary fituation of other nations becomes indifpenfable to thofe who would fully compre-

* See Appendix to the Life, Note D.

hend

hend the political tranſactions of any one ſtate at a particular period. In writing the hiſtory of a great nation, accordingly, it is neceſſary to connect with the narrative, occaſional epiſodes with reſpect to ſuch foreign affairs as had an influence on the policy of the government, or on the fortunes of the people. To accompliſh this with ſucceſs, by beſtowing on theſe digreſſions, perſpicuity and intereſt, without entering into that minuteneſs of detail which might miſlead the attention of the reader from the principal ſubject, is unqueſtionably one of the moſt difficult taſks of an Hiſtorian; and in executing this taſk, Dr. Robertſon's judgment and ſkill will not ſuffer by a compariſon with thoſe diſplayed by the moſt illuſtrious of his rivals.

In the work, however, now under our conſideration, he has aimed at ſomething more; for while he has recorded, with admirable diſtinctneſs, the tranſactions of a particular reign, (preſerving his epiſodes in ſo juſt a ſubordination to his main deſign, that they ſeldom produce any inconvenient diſtraction of attention or of intereſt,) he has contrived, by happy tranſitions, to interweave ſo many of the remarkable events which happened about the ſame time in other parts of Europe, as to render his Hiſtory of Charles V. the moſt inſtructive introduction that has yet appeared to the general Hiſtory of that age. The advantage of making the tranſactions of a particular nation, and ſtill more the reign of a particular ſovereign, a ground-work for ſuch comprehenſive views of human affairs, is ſufficiently

ciently obvious. By carrying on a connected ſeries of important events, and indicating their relations to the contemporary hiſtory of mankind, a *meridian* is traced (if I may uſe the expreſſion) through the vaſt and crowded map of time; and a line of reference is exhibited to the mind, for marking the bearings of thoſe ſubordinate occurrences, in the multiplicity of which its powers would have been loſt.

In undertaking a work on a plan ſo philoſophical in the deſign, but ſo difficult in the execution, no period, perhaps, in the hiſtory of the world, could have been more happily choſen than that which commences with the ſixteenth century; in the courſe of which, (as he himſelf obſerves,) "the ſeveral powers of Europe were "formed into one great political ſyſtem, in "which each took a ſtation, wherein it has ſince "remained with leſs alteration than could have "been expected, after the ſhocks occaſioned by "ſo many internal revolutions and ſo many "foreign wars."

Mr. Hume, in a letter which I had occaſion already to quote, objects to him that "his Hero "is not very intereſting," and it muſt undoubtedly be acknowledged, that the characteriſtical qualities of his mind were leſs thoſe of an amiable man than of a great Prince. His character, however, on the whole, was ſingularly adapted to Dr. Robertſon's purpoſe; not only as the aſcendant it ſecured to him in the political world marks him out indiſputably as the principal figure in that illuſtrious groupe which then appeared

peared on the Theatre of Europe, but as it every where difplays that deep and fagacious policy, which, by fyftematizing his counfels, and linking together the great events of his reign, infpires a conftant intereft, if not for the perfonal fortunes of the man, at leaft for the magnificent projects of the politician. -- Nor is the character of Charles, however unamiable, without a certain fpecies of attraction. The reader who is previoufly acquainted with the laft fcenes of his enterprifing and brilliant life, while he follows him through the fplendid career of his ambition, can fcarcely avoid to indulge occafionally thofe moral fympathies which the contraft awakens; and to borrow from the folitude of the cloifter fome prophetic touches, to foften the fternnefs of the Warrior and the Statefman.

With a view to facilitate the ftudy of this important portion of modern hiftory, Dr. Robertfon has employed a preliminary volume in tracing the progrefs of fociety in Europe, from the fubverfion of the Roman Empire to the æra at which his narrative commences. In this inftance, as well as in the firft book of his Scottifh Hiftory, he has fanctioned by his example a remark of Father Paul, that an hiftorical compofition fhould be as complete as poffible in itfelf; exhibiting a feries of events intelligible to every reader, without any reference to other fources of information. On the minutenefs and accuracy of Dr. Robertfon's refearches concerning the ftate of Europe during the middle ages, I do not prefume to offer an opinion. They certainly

certainly exhibit marks of very extenſive and various reading, digeſted with the ſoundeſt judgment; and of which the reſults appear to be arranged in the moſt diſtinct and luminous order. At the time when he wrote, ſuch an arrangement of materials was the grand *deſideratum*, and by far the moſt arduous taſk; nor will the merit of having firſt brought into form a maſs of information ſo little acceſſible till then to ordinary readers, be ever affected by the controverſies that may ariſe concerning the juſtneſs of particular concluſions. If, in ſome of theſe, he has been cenſured as haſty by later writers, it muſt be remembered how much their labours were facilitated by what he did to open a field for their minuter diligence; and that, by the ſcrupulous exactneſs with which he refers to his authorities, he has himſelf furniſhed the means of correcting his errors. One thing is certain, (and it affords no inconſiderable teſtimony both to the felicity of his choice in the various hiſtorical ſubjects he undertook, and to the extent of his reſearches in the inveſtigation of facts,) that the moſt acute and able of all his adverſaries* was guided by Dr. Robertſon's example in almoſt all his literary undertakings; and that his curioſity has ſeldom led him into any path, where the genius and induſtry of his predeceſſor had not previouſly cleared the way.

In no part of Dr. Robertſon's works has he diſplayed more remarkably than in this intro-

* Dr. Gilbert Stuart.

ductory

ductory volume, his patience in reſearch; his penetration and good ſenſe in ſelecting his information; or that comprehenſion of mind, which, without being miſled by ſyſtem, can combine, with diſtinctneſs and taſte, the dry and ſcattered details of ancient monuments. In truth, this Diſſertation, under the unaſſuming title of an Introduction to the Hiſtory of Charles V. may be regarded as an introduction to the Hiſtory of Modern Europe. It is invaluable, in this reſpect, to the hiſtorical ſtudent; and it ſuggeſts, in every page, matter of ſpeculation to the politician and the philoſopher.

It will not, I hope, be imputed to me as a blameable inſtance of national vanity, if I conclude this Section with remarking the rapid progreſs that has been made in our own country during the laſt fifty years, in tracing the origin and progreſs of the preſent eſtabliſhments in Europe. Monteſquieu undoubtedly led the way; but much has been done ſince the publication of his works, by authors whoſe names are enrolled among the members of this ſociety. "On "this intereſting ſubject," (ſays Mr. Gibbon,) "a ſtrong ray of philoſophic light has broke "from Scotland in our own times; and it is "with private as well as public regard, that I "repeat the names of Hume, Robertſon, and "Adam Smith *." It was, indeed, a ſubject worthy of their genius; for, in the whole hiſtory of human affairs, no ſpectacle occurs ſo wonderful

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. lxi.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S...

in itſelf, or ſo momentous in its effects, as the growth of that ſyſtem which took its riſe from the conqueſts of the Barbarians. In conſequence of theſe, the weſtern parts of Europe were overſpread with a thick night of ſuperſtition and ignorance, which laſted nearly a thouſand years; yet this event, which had at firſt ſo unpromiſing an aſpect, laid the foundation of a ſtate of ſociety far more favourable to the general and permanent happineſs of the human race than any which the world had hitherto ſeen;—a ſtate of ſociety which required many ages to bring it to that condition which it has now attained, and which will probably require ages more to beſtow on it all the perfection of which it ſeems to be gradually ſuſceptible. By dividing Europe into a number of large monarchies, agreeing with each other in their fundamental inſtitutions, but differing in the nature both of their moral and phyſical advantages; and poſſeſſing, at the ſame time, ſuch meaſures of relative force as to render them objects of mutual reſpect; it multiplied the chances of human improvement;—ſecured a mutual communication of lights among vaſt political communities, all of them fitted to contribute their reſpective ſhares to the common ſtock of knowledge and refinement:—and ſheltered ſcience and civilization, till they had time to ſtrike their roots ſo deep, and to ſcatter their ſeeds ſo wide, that their final progreſs over the whole globe can now be checked only by ſome calamity fatal to the ſpecies.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Continuation of the ſame Subject.—HISTORY OF AMERICA.

AFTER an interval of eight years from the publication of Charles the Fifth, Dr. Robertſon produced the Hiſtory of America;—a work, which, by the variety of reſearch and of ſpeculation that it exhibits, enables us to form a ſufficient idea of the manner in which he had employed the intervening period.

IN undertaking this taſk, the Author's original intention was only to complete his account of the great events connected with the reign of Charles V.; but perceiving, as he advanced, that a Hiſtory of America, confined ſolely to the operations and concerns of the Spaniards, would not be likely to excite a very general intereſt, he reſolved to include in his plan the tranſactions of all the European nations in the New World. The origin and progreſs of the Britiſh Empire there, he deſtined for the ſubject of one entire volume; but afterwards abandoned, or rather ſuſpended the execution of this part of his deſign, for reaſons mentioned in his Preface.

IN the view which I have hitherto given of Dr. Robertſon's literary purſuits, I have endeavoured not only to glean all the ſcanty information which his papers ſupply, concerning the progreſs of his ſtudies, but to collect whatever memorials they afford, of his intercourſe with thoſe, to

 whom

whom he appears to have been more peculiarly attached by ſentiments of eſteem or of friendſhip. In following this plan, while I have attempted (in conformity to the precept of an eloquent Critic*) to add to the intereſt of my narrative "by ſurrounding the ſubject of it with his Contemporaries," I have aimed alſo to ſelect ſuch paſſages from the letters of his correſpondents, as were at once calculated to illuſtrate the characters of the writers, and to reflect ſome light on that of the perſon to whom they are addreſſed. It appeared to me to be poſſible to convey in this manner a livelier and juſter idea of the more delicate features of their minds, than by any deſcription however circumſtantial; and at the ſame time to avoid, by a proper diſcrimination in the ſelection of materials, thoſe frivolous or degrading details, which, in the preſent times, are ſo frequently preſented to the public by the indiſcretion of editors. The epiſtolary fragments, accordingly, interwoven with my own compoſition have all a reference to the peculiar object of this Memoir; and I cannot help indulging a hope, that they will amply compenſate, by the value they poſſeſs as authentic relics of the individuals whoſe friendſhips they record, for the treſpaſſes they have occaſioned againſt that unity of ſtyle which the rules of criticiſm enjoin.

In the farther proſecution of this ſubject, I ſhall adhere to the ſame general plan; without,

* Abbé Maury.

however,

however, affecting that minutenefs of illuftration which I was anxious to beftow on the firft fteps of Dr. Robertfon's literary progrefs. The circle of his acquaintance, befides, was now fo extended, and the congratulations which his works drew to him fo multiplied, that my choice muft neceffarily be limited to the letters of thofe whofe names render their judgments of men and books objects of public curiofity. The Society will regret with me, that among thefe correfpondents the name of Mr. Hume is not to be found. He died in the year 1776; the year immediately preceding that in which the Hiftory of America was publifhed*.

Mr. Gibbon made his appearance as an Hiftorian a few months before Mr. Hume's death, and began a correfpondence with Dr. Robertfon the year following. A letter, dated from Paris, 14th July 1777, in acknowledgment of a prefent of Dr. Robertfon's book, appears plainly from the contents to have been one of the firft that paffed between them.

" When I ventured to affume the character of " Hiftorian, the firft, the moft natural, but at " the fame time the moft ambitious wifh which I " entertained was to deferve the approbation of " Dr. Robertfon and Mr. Hume, two names " which friendfhip united, and which pofterity " will never feparate. I fhall not therefore at- " tempt to diffemble, though I cannot eafily ex- " prefs, the honeft pleafure which I received

* See Appendix to the Life, Note E.

" from your obliging letter, as well as from the " intelligence of your moſt valuable preſent. " The ſatisfaction which I ſhould otherwiſe have " enjoyed in common with the public, will now " be heightened by a ſentiment of a more per- " ſonal and flattering nature; and I ſhall often " whiſper to myſelf that I have in ſome degree " obtained the eſteem of the Writer whom I " admire.

" A SHORT excurſion which I have made to " this place during the ſummer months, has oc- " caſioned ſome delay in my receiving your let- " ter, and will prevent me from poſſeſſing, till " my return, the copy of your Hiſtory, which " you ſo politely deſired Mr. Strahan to ſend me. " But I have already gratified the eagerneſs of " my curioſity and impatience; and though I was " obliged to return the book much ſooner than " I could have wiſhed, I have ſeen enough to " convince me that the preſent publication will " ſupport, and, if poſſible, extend the fame of " the Author; that the materials are collected " with care, and arranged with ſkill; that the " progreſs of diſcovery is diſplayed with learning " and perſpicuity, that the dangers, the atchieve- " ments, and the views of the Spaniſh adventu- " rers, are related with a temperate ſpirit; and " that the moſt original, perhaps the moſt " curious portion of human manners, is at length " reſcued from the hands of ſophiſts and de- " claimers. Lord Stormont, and the few in this " capital who have had an opportunity of pe- " ruſing the Hiſtory of America, unanimouſly

" concur

"concur in the ſame ſentiments; your work is "already become a favourite ſubject of conver, "ſation, and M. Suard is repeatedly preſſed, in "my hearing, to fix the time when his tranſla- "tion will appear *."

In moſt of the other letters received by Dr. Robertſon on this occaſion, I have not remarked any thing very intereſting. Mr. Walpole is liberal, as formerly, in his praiſe, but does not enter ſo much into particular criticiſms; and as for his other correſpondents, (among whom were various names of the firſt diſtinction in the kingdom) the greater part of them were probably reſtrained, by motives of delicacy, from offering any thing more than general expreſſions of admiration, to a Writer whoſe fame was now ſo fully eſtabliſhed. A letter from William Lord Mansfield, though it bears no marks of the ſuperior mind of that eminent man, is valuable at leaſt as a teſtimony of his reſpect for Dr. Robertſon: nor will it, perhaps, when contraſted with the ſplendor of his profeſſional exertions, be altogether unacceptable to thoſe who have a pleaſure in ſtudying the varieties and the limits of human genius.

"I DELAYED returning you my warmeſt ac- "knowledgments for your moſt valuable preſent,

* The letter from which the foregoing paſſage is extracted has been already publiſhed by Lord Sheffield in the poſthumous works of Mr. Gibbon. As the copy found among Dr. Robertſon's papers correſponds *verbatim* with that which Mr. Gibbon appears to have retained in his own poſſeſſion, it affords a proof of the care which he beſtowed on his epiſtolary compoſitions.

" till I could ſay that I have enjoyed it. Since " my return from the circuit I have read it with " infinite pleaſure. It is inferior to none of your " works, which is ſaying a great deal. No man " will now doubt but that you have done judi- " ciouſly in making this an entire ſeparate work, " and detaching it from the general Hiſtory. " Your account of the ſcience of Navigation and " Naval diſcovery is admirable, and equal to any " Hiſtorical Map of the kind. If I knew a pen " equal to it, I would adviſe the continuation " down to the next arrival of Captain Cook. " Nothing could he more entertaining, or more " inſtructive. It is curious that all great diſco- " veries are made, as it were by accident, when " men are in ſearch of ſomething elſe. I learn " from you that Columbus did not, as a philo- " ſopher, demonſtrate to himſelf that there muſt " be ſuch a portion of the earth as America is, " but that meaning to go to the Eaſt Indies, he " ſtumbled on the Weſt. It is a more intereſt- " ing ſpeculation to conſider how little political " wiſdom had to do, and how much has ariſen " from chance, in the peopling, government, " laws, and conſtitution of the New World. You " ſhew it ſtrongly in the revolutions and ſettle- " ments of Spaniſh America. I hope the time " will come for fulfilling the engagement you " allude to in the beginning of the preface. You " will then ſhew how little political wiſdom had " to do in forming the original ſettlements of " Engliſh America. Government left private " adventurers to do as they pleaſed, and cer-

"tainly did not see in any degree the conse-"
"quence of the object."

One letter containing the judgment of an Author who is supposed to have employed his own abilities in a very masterly sketch on the same subject, I shall publish entire. It is long for a quotation; but I will not mutilate what comes from the pen of Mr. Burke.

"I AM perfectly sensible of the very flattering "distinction I have received in your thinking "me worthy of so noble a present as that of your "History of America. I have, however, suf-"fered my gratitude to lie under some suspicion, "by delaying my acknowledgment of so great a "favour. But my delay was only to render my "obligation to you more complete, and my "thanks, if possible, more merited. The close "of the session brought a great deal of very trou-"blesome, though not important business on me "at once. I could not go through your work at "one breath at that time, though I have done "it since. I am now enabled to thank you, not "only for the honour you have done me, but "for the great satisfaction, and the infinite "variety and compass of instruction I have re-"ceived from your incomparable work. Every "thing has been done which was so naturally to "be expected from the Author of the History of "Scotland, and of the age of Charles the Fifth. "I believe few books have done more than this, "towards clearing up dark points, correcting "errors, and removing prejudices. You have "too the rare secret of rekindiing an interest on

"ſubjects that had ſo often been treated, and in "which every thing which could feed a vital "flame appeared to have been conſumed. I am "ſure I read many parts of your Hiſtory with "that freſh concern and anxiety which attend "thoſe who are not previouſly appriſed of the "event. You have, beſides, thrown quite a "new light on the preſent ſtate of the Spaniſh "provinces, and furniſhed both materials and "hints for a rational theory of what may be ex- "pected from them in future.

"The part which I read with the greateſt "pleaſure is, the diſcuſſion on the manners and "character of the inhabitants of that New World. "I have always thought with you, that we poſ- "ſeſs at this time very great advantages towards "the knowledge of human nature. We need no "longer go to Hiſtory to trace it in all its ſtages "and periods. Hiſtory, from its comparative "youth, is but a poor inſtructor. When the "Egyptians called the Greeks Children in An- "tiquities, we may well call them Children; "and ſo we may call all thoſe nations which "were able to trace the progreſs of ſociety only "within their own limits. But now the great "Map of Mankind is unrolled at once, and "and there is no ſtate or gradation of barbariſm, "and no mode of refinement, which we have "not at the ſame moment under our view: the "very different civility of Europe and of China; "the barbariſm of Perſia and of Abyſſinia; the "erratick manners of Tartary and of Arabia; "the ſavage ſtate of North America and of New

"Zealand.

"Zealand. Indeed you have made a noble ufe "of the advantages you have had. You have "employed philofophy to judge on manners, "and from manners you have drawn new re-"fources for philofophy. I only think that in "one or two points you have hardly done juf-"tice to the favage character.

"THERE remains before you a great field. "*Periculofæ plenum opus aleæ Tractas, et incedis "per ignes. Suppofitos cineri dolofo.* When "even thofe afhes will be fpread over the pre-"fent fire, God knows, I am heartily forry that "we are now fupplying you with that kind of "dignity and concern, which is purchafed to "Hiftory at the expence of mankind. I had "rather by far that Dr. Robertfon's pen were "only employed in delineating the humble "fcenes of political œconomy, than the great "events of a civil war. However, if our ftatef-"men had read the book of human nature in-"ftead of the Journals of the Houfe of Com-"mons, and Hiftory inftead of Acts of Parlia-"ment, we fhould not by the latter have fur-"nifhed out fo ample a Page for the former. "For my part, I have not been, nor am I very "forward in my fpeculations on this fubject. "All that I have ventured to make have hi-"therto proved fallacious. I confefs, I thought "the Colonies left to themfelves could not "have made any thing like the prefent refiftance "to the whole power of this country and its "allies. I did not think it could have been "done without the declared interference of the

"Houſe of Bourbon. But I looked on it as very "probable that France and Spain would before "this time have taken a decided part. In both "theſe conjectures I have judged amiſs.—You "will ſmile when I ſend you a trifling temporary "production, made for the occaſion of a day, "and to periſh with it, in return for your im-"mortal work. But our exchange reſembles "the politics of the times. You ſend out ſolid "wealth, the accumulation of ages, and in return "you get a few flying leaves of poor American "paper. However, you have the mercantile "comfort of finding the balance of trade infi-"nitely in your favour; and I conſole myſelf "with the ſnug conſideration of uninformed "natural acuteneſs, that I have my warehouſe "full of goods at another's expence.

"Adieu, Sir, continue to inſtruct the world; "and whilſt we carry on a poor unequal conflict "with the paſſions and prejudices of our day, "perhaps with no better weapons than other "paſſions and prejudices of our own, convey "wiſdom at our expence to future generations."

After theſe teſtimonies to the excellence of the American Hiſtory, joined to twenty years' poſſeſſion of the public favour, it may perhaps be thought preſumption in me to interpoſe my own judgment with reſpect to its peculiar merits. I cannot help, however, remarking (what appears ſtill more characteriſtical of this than of any of Dr. Robertſon's other works) the comprehenſive ſurvey which he has taken of his vaſt and various ſubject, and the ſkilful arrangement by which

he has beſtowed connection and ſymmetry on a maſs of materials ſo ſhapeleſs and disjointed. The penetration and ſagacity diſplayed in his delineation of ſavage manners, and the unbiaſſed good ſenſe with which he has contraſted that ſtate of ſociety with civilized life, (a ſpeculation in the proſecution of which ſo many of his predeceſſors had loſt themſelves, in vague declamation or in paradoxical refinement,) have been much and deſervedly admired. His induſtry alſo, and accuracy in collecting information with reſpect to the Spaniſh ſyſtem of colonial policy, have received warm praiſe from his friends and from the public. But what perhaps does no leſs honour to the powers of his mind than any of theſe particulars is, the ability and addreſs with which he has treated ſome topics that did not fall within the ordinary ſphere of his ſtudies; more eſpecially thoſe which border on the province of the natural hiſtorian. In the conſideration of theſe, although we may perhaps, in one or two inſtances, have room to regret that he had not been ſtill more completely prepared for the undertaking by previous habits of ſcientific diſquiſition, we uniformly find him intereſting and inſtructive in the information he conveys; and happy, beyond moſt Engliſh Writers, in the deſcriptive powers of his ſtyle. The ſpecies of deſcription too in which he excels is peculiarly adapted to his ſubject; diſtinguiſhed, not by thoſe pictureſque touches which vie with the effects of the pencil in preſenting local ſcenery to the mind, by an expreſſion, to which language

language alone is equal, of the grand features of an unſubdued world. In theſe paſſages he diſcovers talents, as a Writer, different from any thing that appears in his other publications; a compaſs and richneſs of diction the more ſurpriſing, that the objects deſcribed were ſo little familiarized to his thoughts, and, in more than one inſtance, rivalling the majeſtic eloquence which deſtined Buffon to be the Hiſtorian of Nature.

After all, however, the principal charm of this, as well as of his other Hiſtories, ariſes from the graphical effect of his narrative, wherever his ſubject affords him materials for an intereſting picture. What force and beauty of painting in his circumſtantial details of the voyage of Columbus; of the firſt aſpect of the New Continent; and of the interviews of the natives with the Spaniſh adventurers! With what animation and fire does he follow the ſteps of Cortes through the varying fortunes of his vaſt and hazardous career; yielding, it muſt be owned, ſomewhat too much to the influence of the paſſions which his hero felt; but beſtowing, at the ſame time, the warm tribute of admiration and ſympathy on the virtues and fate of thoſe whom he ſubdued! The arts, the inſtitutions, and the manners of Europe and of America; but, above all, the ſplendid characters of Cortes and of Guatimozin, enable him, in this part of his work, to add to its other attractions that of the fineſt contraſts which occur in Hiſtory.

On

On theſe and ſimilar occaſions, if I may be allowed to judge from what I experience in myſelf, he ſeizes more completely, than any other modern Hiſtorian, the attention of his reader, and tranſports him into the midſt of the tranſactions which he records. His own imagination was warm and vigorous; and, although in the conduct of life it gave no tincture of enthuſiaſm to his temper, yet, in the ſolitude of the cloſet, it attached him peculiarly to thoſe paſſages of hiſtory which approach to the romantic. Hence many of the characteriſtical beauties of his writings; and hence too, perhaps, ſome of their imperfections. A cold and phlegmatic hiſtorian, who ſurveys human affairs like the inhabitant of a different planet, if his narrative ſhould ſometimes languiſh for want of intereſt, will at leaſt avoid thoſe prepoſſeſſions into which the Writer muſt occaſionally be betrayed, who, mingling with a ſympathetic ardour among the illuſtrious perſonages whoſe ſtory he contemplates, is liable, while he kindles with their generous emotions, to be infected by the contagion of their prejudices and paſſions.

These effects, reſulting naturally from a warm imagination, were heightened in Dr. Robertſon by the vigour of an active and aſpiring mind. It was not from the indifference produced by indolence or abſtraction that he withdrew from the buſineſs of life to philoſophy and letters, He was formed for action no leſs than ſpeculation; and had fortune opened to him a field equal to his talents, he would have preferred,

without

without heſitation, (if I do not greatly miſtake his character,) the purſuits of the former to thoſe of the latter. His ſtudies were all directed to the great ſcenes of political exertion; and it was only becauſe he wanted an opportunity to ſuſtain a part in them himſelf, that he ſubmitted to be an Hiſtorian of the actions of others. In all his writings the influence of the circumſtances which I have now ſuggeſted may, I think, be traced; but in none of them is it ſo ſtrongly marked as in the Hiſtory of America. There he writes with the intereſt of one who had been himſelf an actor on the ſcene; giving an ideal range to his ambition among the aſtoniſhing events which he deſcribes.

Perhaps, indeed, it muſt be owned, on the other hand, that if the excellencies of this performance are on a ſcale commenſurate to the magnitude of the ſubject, it is in ſome reſpects more open to cenſure than any of his other productions. A partiality for the charms of eloquence and the originality of ſyſtem diſplayed in the writings of Buffon and de Paw;—a partiality natural to the enthuſiaſm of a congenial mind, has unqueſtionably produced a facility in the admiſſion of many of their aſſertions which are now claſſed with the prejudices of former times. After allowing, however, to this charge all the weight it poſſeſſes, it ought to be remembered, in juſtice to Dr. Robertſon, what important additions have been made, ſince the time he wrote, to our knowledge both of America and of his aboriginal inhabitants; and that it is not

not from our preſent ſtock of information, but from what was then current in Europe, that an eſtimate can fairly be formed of the extent and accuracy of his reſearches. When he hazarded himſelf, like Columbus, in traverſing an unknown ocean, and in ſurveying a New World, much, it might be expected, would be left to reward the induſtry of future adventurers.— The diſpoſition he has ſhewn to palliate or to veil the enormities of the Spaniards in their American conqueſts, is a blemiſh of a deeper and more ſerious nature, to the impreſſion of which I muſt content myſelf with oppoſing thoſe warm and enlightened ſentiments of humanity which in general animate his writings. A late candid and well-informed Author, accordingly, after aſſerting that the conqueſt of the New World was effected (on a low eſtimate) by the murdering of ten millions of the ſpecies, and that the accounts of this carnage are authenticated beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, ſuggeſts an apology for Dr. Robertſon, by remarking, "That this is one of thoſe melancholy paſſages "in the hiſtory of human nature, where a benevolent mind, ſhrinking from the contemplation "of facts, wiſhes to reſiſt conviction, and to relieve itſelf by incredulity*."

The Spaniſh nation were not inſenſible of what they owed to Dr. Robertſon for "the "temperate ſpirit" (as Mr. Gibbon expreſſes it) with which he had related this portion of

* Bryan Edwards — Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies.

their ſtory. "On the 8th of Auguſt 1777, he "was unanimouſly elected a member of the "Royal Academy of Hiſtory at Madrid; in "teſtimony of their approbation of the induſtry "and care with which he has applied to the "ſtudy of Spaniſh Hiſtory, and as a recompence "for his merit in having contributed ſo much to "illuſtrate and ſpread the knowledge of it in "foreign countries."* The Academy, at the ſame time, appointed one of its members to tranſlate the Hiſtory of America into Spaniſh; and it is believed that conſiderable progreſs had been made in the tranſlation, when the Spaniſh Government, judging it expedient that a work ſhould be made public, in which the nature of the trade with America, and the ſyſtem of Colonial Adminiſtration, were ſo fully explained, interpoſed its authority to ſtop the undertaking.

As the volumes which have been now under our review did not complete Dr. Robertſon's original deſign, he announced in the preface his intention to reſume the ſubject at a future period; ſuſpending, in the mean time, the execution of that part of his plan which related to the Britiſh ſettlements, "on account of the "*ferment* which then agitated our North American Colonies." A fragment of this intended work, which has been publiſhed ſince his death, while it illuſtrates the perſevering ardor of his mind, muſt excite a lively regret in all who read it, that a Hiſtory ſo peculiarly calculated by its ſubject to co-extend his fame with the future progreſs of our language in the regions

regions beyond the Atlantic, had not been added to the other monuments of his genius.

The caution which Dr. Robertſon obſerved in his expreſſions concerning the American war, ſuggeſts ſome doubts about his ſentiments on that ſubject. In his letters to Mr. Strahan he writes with greater freedom, and ſometimes ſtates, without reſerve, his opinions of men and meaſures.

One or two of theſe paſſages (which I tranſcribe without any comment) appear to me to be objects of curioſity, as they illuſtrate Dr. Robertſon's political views; and I flatter myſelf they will now be read without offence, when the factions to which they allude are almoſt effaced from our recollection by the more intereſting events of a later period. I need ſcarcely premiſe, that in quoting Dr. Robertſon's opinions I would by no means be underſtood to ſubſcribe to them as my own.

In a letter, dated October 6, 1775, he writes thus: "I agree with you in ſentiment about "the affairs of America. Incapacity, or want "of information, has led the people employed "there to deceive Miniſtry. Truſting to them, "they have been trifling for two years, when "they ſhould have been ſerious, until they have "rendered a very ſimple piece of buſineſs ex"tremely perplexed. They have permitted "colonies disjoined by nature and ſituation to "conſolidate into a regular ſyſtematical confe"deracy; and when a few regiments ſtationed

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MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARAS

"in each capital would have rendered it im-
"poffible for them to take arms, they have fuf-
"fered them quietly to levy and train forces, as
"if they had not known and feen againft whom
"they were prepared. But now we are fairly
"committed, and I do think it fortunate
"that the violence of the Americans has
"brought matters to a crifis too foon for them-
"felves. From the beginning of the conteft I
"have always afferted that independence was
"their object. The diftinction between *tax-
"ation* and *regulation* is mere folly. There is
"not an argument againft our right of taxing,
"that does not conclude with tenfold force
"againft our power of regulating their trade.
"They may profefs or difclaim what they pleafe,
"and hold the language that beft fuits their
"purpofe; but if they have any meaning, it
"muft be that they fhould be free ftates, con-
"nected with us by blood, by habit, and by
"religion, but at liberty to buy and fell and
"trade where and with whom they pleafe. This
"they will one day attain, but not juft now, if
"there be any degree of political wifdom or
"vigour remaining. At the fame time one
"cannot but regret that profperous growing
"ftates fhould be checked in their career. As
"a lover of mankind I bewail it; but as a fubject
"of Great Britain, I muft wifh that their de-
"pendence on it fhould continue. If the wif-
"dom of Government can terminate the conteft
"with honour inftantly, that would be the moft
"defirable iffue. This, however, I take to be

"*now*

" *now* impoffible ; and I will venture to foretel, " that if our leaders do not at once exert the " power of the Britifh Empire in its full force, " the ftruggle will be long, dubious, and dif- " graceful. We are paft the hour of lenitives " and half exertions. If the conteft be pro- " tracted, the fmalleft interruption of the tran- " quillity that now reigns in Europe, or even the " appearance of it, may be fatal.

" It is lucky that my American Hiftory was " not finifhed before this event. How many " plaufible theories that I fhould have been en- " titled to form, are contradicted by what has " now happened !"

To this extract, I fhall only add a few fentences from a letter written to the fame correfpondent about the affairs of America, nine years before, at the time of the repeal of the Stamp-Act.

" I am glad to hear the determination of the " Houfe of Commons concerning the Stamp- " Act. I rejoice, from my love of the human " fpecies, that a million of men in America have " fome chance of running the fame great career " which other free people have held before " them. I do not apprehend revolution or in- " dependence fooner than thefe muft and fhould " come. A very little fkill and attention in the " art of governing may preferve the fupremacy " of Britain as long as it ought to be preferved. " You can do me no favour more obliging, than " that of writing me often an account of all " occurrences in the debates on this affair. I

"am much interested in the subject; very little "in the men who act on either side. I am not "weak enough greatly to admire their virtues, "nor so factious as to adopt their passions."

SECTION IV.

Continuation of the same Subect.—HISTORICAL DISQUISITION CONCERNING INDIA.—*General Remarks on Dr.* ROBERTSON'S *Merits as an Historian.*

IN consequence of the interruption of Dr. Robertson's plans produced by the American Revolution, he was led to think of some other subject which might, in the mean time, give employment to his studious leisure. A letter, dated July 1778, to his friend the Rev. Mr. Waddilove, (now Dean of Rippon,) contains some important information with respect to his designs at this period.

"THE state of our affairs in North America is "not such as to invite me to go on with my His- "tory of the New World. I must wait for times "of greater tranquillity, when I can write and "the public can read with more impartiality and "better information than at present. Every "person with whom I conversed in London "confirmed me in my resolution of making a "pause for a little, until it shall be known in "what manner the ferment will subside. But "as it is neither my inclination nor interest to "be

"be altogether idle, many of my friends have
"ſuggeſted to me a new ſubject, the Hiſtory of
"Great Britain, from the Revolution to the
"Acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover. It will
"be ſome ſatisfaction to me to enter on a do-
"meſtic ſubject, after being engaged ſo long on
"foreign ones, where one-half of my time and
"labour were employed in teaching myſelf to
"underſtand manners, and laws, and forms,
"which I was to explain to others. You know
"better than any body how much pains I be-
"ſtowed in ſtudying the conſtitution, the man-
"ners, and the commerce of Spaniſh America.
"The Review contained in the firſt volume of
"Charles V. was founded on reſearches ſtill
"more laborious. I ſhall not be involved in the
"ſame painful enquiries, if I undertake the
"preſent work. I poſſeſs already as much
"knowledge of the Britiſh government and
"laws as uſually is poſſeſſed by other perſons
"who have been well educated and have lived
"in good company. A minute inveſtigation of
"facts will be the chief object of my attention.
"With reſpect to theſe, I ſhall be much aided
"by the original papers publiſhed by Sir John
"Dalrymple and Macpherſon, and lately by
"Lord Hardwicke. The Memoirs of Noailles,
"concerning the French negociations in Spain,
"contain very curious information. I have got
"a very valuable collection of papers from the
"Duke of Montague, which belonged to the
"Duke of Shrewſbury, and I am promiſed the
"large collection of the Duke of Marlborough,

 "which

"which were formerly in the hands of Mr. "Mallet. From theſe and other materials I "hope to write a Hiſtory which may be both "entertaining and inſtructive. I know that I "ſhall get upon dangerous ground, and muſt "relate events concerning which our political "factions entertain very different ſentiments. "But I am little alarmed with this. I flatter "myſelf that I have temper enough to judge "with impartiality; and if, after examining "with candour, I do give offence, there is no "man whoſe ſituation is more independent."

WHATEVER the motives were which induced him to relinquiſh this project, it is certain that it did not long occupy his thoughts. From a letter of Mr. Gibbon, it would appear to have been abandoned before the end of the year 1779. The paſſage is intereſting, not only as it ſerves to aſcertain the fact, but as it ſuggeſts a valuable hint with reſpect to a different hiſtorical ſubject.

"I REMEMBER a kind of engagement you had "contracted to repeat your viſit to London every "ſecond year, and I look forwards with pleaſure "to next ſpring when your bond will naturally "become due. I ſhould almoſt hope that you "would bring with you ſome fruits of your "leiſure, had I not been informed that you had "totally relinquiſhed your deſign of continuing "Mr. Hume's Hiſtory of England. Notwith-"ſtanding the juſt and deep ſenſe which I muſt "entertain (if the intelligence be true) of our "public loſs, I have ſcarcely courage enough to

"blame

"blame you. The want of materials and the "danger of offence are two formidable obſtacles "for an Hiſtorian who wiſhes to inſtruct, and "who is determined not to betray his readers.— "But if you leave the narrow limits of our iſland, "there ſtill remain, without returning to the "troubled ſcene of America, many ſubjects not "unworthy of your genius. Will you give me "leave as a vague and indigeſted hint, to ſuggeſt "the Hiſtory of the Proteſtants in France; "the events are important in themſelves, and "intimately connected with the great Revo- "lutions of Europe: ſome of the boldeſt or moſt "amiable characters of modern times, the Ad- "miral Coligny, Henry IV. &c. would be your "peculiar heroes; the materials are copious, "and authentic, and acceſſible; and the objects "appear to ſtand at that juſt diſtance which "excites curioſity without inſpiring paſſion. "Excuſe the freedom, and weigh the merits "(if any) of this propoſal *."

As I have had very little acceſs to ſee any of Dr. Robertſon's anſwers to the letters of his correſpondents, I am ignorant what reply he made to this ſuggeſtion of Mr. Gibbon, as well as of the circumſtances that induced him to lay aſide his plans with reſpect to the Hiſtory of England. It is impoſſible, however, not to feel much regret that he did not carry them into execution. In ſpite of the obſtacles which Mr. Gibbon mentions, there can be little doubt that the work

* See Appendix to the Life, Note F.

would have been an important acceffion to English literature; and, in all probability, from the interefting nature of the fubject, the moft popular of his performances. The intrigues of the different factions during the reign of Queen Anne would have afforded an ample field for the exercife of his cool and difcriminating judgment; the campaigns of Marlborough deferved fuch an Hiftorian; while the literature and philofophy of that memorable period would have given full employment to thofe critical powers which he fo eminently poffeffed, and of which he has unfortunately left no monument behind him. The flight fketches of this kind, interfperfed with the narrative of Mr. Hume's Hiftory, have always been favourite paffages with readers of tafte; and, if I may be permitted to judge from Dr. Robertfon's converfation, he would not, in this fpecies of compofition, have been furpaffed by any of his contemporaries.

I HAVE not heard of any other work that he projected after this period. He feems indeed foon to have abandoned all thoughts of writing any more for the public, and to have indulged the idea of profecuting his ftudies in future for his private amufement. His circumftances were independent: he was approaching to the age of fixty, with a conftitution confiderably impaired by a fedentary life; and a long application to the compofitions he had prepared for the prefs, had interfered with much of the gratification he might have enjoyed, if he had been at liberty to

follow the impulfe of his own tafte and curiofity. Such a facrifice muft be more or lefs made by all who devote themfelves to letters, whether with a view to emolument or to fame; nor would it perhaps be eafy to make it, were it not for the profpect (feldom, alas! realized) of earning by their exertions, that learned and honourable leifure which he was fo fortunate as to attain. He retired from the bufinefs of the ecclefiaftical courts about the fame time; and, for feven or eight years, divided the hours which he could fpare from his profeffional duties, between the luxury of reading and the converfation of his friends.

The activity of his mind, in the mean time, continued unimpaired; and the habits of ftudy he had fo long been accuftomed to, gave a certain fcope and connexion even to his hiftorical recreations. To one of thefe, which, from its accidental connection with fome of his former works, engaged his attention more clofely than his ordinary purfuits, the public is indebted for a valuable performance, of which the materials feem almoft infenfibly to have fwelled to a volume, long after his moft intimate friends imagined that he had renounced all thoughts of the prefs. The Difquifition concerning Ancient India, which clofed his hiftorical labours, took its rife, (as he himfelf informs us) "from the "perufal of Major Rennell's Memoir for illuf- "trating his Map of Indoftan. This fuggefted "to him the idea of examining, more fully than "he had done in the introductory book to his

"Hiftory

"Hiſtory of America, into the knowledge which "the Ancients had of that country, and of con- "ſidering what is certain, what is obſcure, and "what is fabulous, in the accounts of it which "they have handed down to us."—"In under- "taking this enquiry," (he adds,) "he had "originally no other object than his own amuſe- "ment and inſtruction; but in carrying it on, "and conſulting with care the authors of anti- "quity, ſome facts hitherto unobſerved, and "many which had not been examined with pro- "per attention, occurred; new views opened; "his ideas gradually extended, and became "more intereſting; till at length he imagined "that the reſult of his reſearches might prove "amuſing and inſtructive to others."

SUCH is the account given by himſelf of the origin and progreſs of a diſquiſition begun in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and in twelve months brought to a concluſion; exhibiting, neverthe- leſs, in every part, a diligence in reſearch, a ſoundneſs of judgment, and a perſpicuity of method not inferior to thoſe which diſtinguiſh his other performances. From the nature of the ſubject it was impoſſible to render it equally amuſing to ordinary readers, or to beſtow on his language the ſame ſplendor and variety; but the ſtyle poſſeſſes all the characteriſtical beauties of his former compoſitions, as far as they could with propriety be introduced into a diſcourſe, of which the general deſign excluded every ſu- perfluous and ambitious ornament. The obſerv- ations in the *Appendix*, upon the character,

the manners, and the inſtitutions of the people of India, preſent a valuable outline of all the moſt important information concerning them, which was then acceſſible to the philoſophers of Europe; and, if they have already loſt part of their intereſt, in conſequence of the aſtoniſhing diſcoveries which have been ſince brought to light in Aſia, by a fortunate and unexampled combination of genius, learning, and official rank, in a few individuals whoſe names do honour to this country; they, at leaſt, evince that ardent and enlightened curioſity which animated the Author's enquiries in his moſt advanced years; and afford a proof, that his mind kept pace, to the laſt, with the progreſs of hiſtorical knowledge.

In theſe obſervations, too, we may occaſionally trace the influence of ſtill higher motives; to which he has himſelf alluded, with an affecting ſolemnity, in the laſt ſentences which he addreſſed to the public. "If I had aimed" (ſays he) "at nothing elſe than to deſcribe the "civil polity, the arts, the ſciences, and reli-"gious inſtitutions, of one of the moſt ancient "and moſt numerous races of men, that alone "would have led me into enquiries and diſcuſ-"ſions both curious and inſtructive. I own, "however, that I have all along kept in view "an object more intereſting, as well as of "greater importance; and entertain hopes, that "if the account which I have given of the early "and high civiliſation of India, and of the won-"derful progreſs of its inhabitants in elegant

"arts

"arts and uſeful ſcience, ſhall be received as "juſt and well eſtabliſhed, it may have ſome in- "fluence upon the behaviour of Europeans to- "wards that people. It was by an impartial and "candid enquiry into ther manners, that the "Emperor Akbar was led to conſider the Hin- "doos as no leſs entitled to protection and favour "than his other ſubjects; and to govern them "with ſuch equity and mildneſs, as to merit from "a grateful people the honourable appellation "of 'the Guardian of Mankind.' If I might "preſume to hope, that the deſcription I have "given of the manners and inſtitutions of the "people of India could contribute in the ſmalleſt "degree, and with the moſt remote influence, "to render their character more reſpectable, "and their condition more happy, I ſhould "cloſe my literary labours with the ſatisfaction "of thinking that I have not lived or written in "vain*."

In concluding this general review of Dr. Robertſon's publications, our attention is naturally led, in the firſt place, to the extent and variety of his hiſtorical reſearches. In this reſpect, he has certainly not been ſurpaſſed by any writer of the preſent times; nor would it perhaps be eaſy to name another who has united to ſo luminous an arrangement of his materials, and ſuch maſterly ſkill in adorning them, an equal degree of induſtry and exactneſs in tracing them to their

* See Appendix to the Life, Note G.

original

original ſources. After a minute examination of the moſt diſputed paſſages of his firſt performance, a late author* has ventured to pronounce him, "the moſt faithful of Hiſtorians;" and I have no doubt that this honourable appellation will be ſanctioned by thoſe who ſhall examine his other works with the ſame acuteneſs, accuracy, and candour.

In the art of narration too, which, next to correctneſs in the ſtatement of facts, is the moſt eſſential qualification of an Hiſtorian, Dr. Robertſon's ſkill is pre-eminent: perhaps I might venture to ſay, that in this art, his chief and characteriſtical excellence as an Hiſtorian conſiſts. I do not, at preſent, allude merely to the richneſs of colouring with which he occaſionally arreſts the attention; but to the diſtinctneſs, perſpicuity, and fulneſs, with which he uniformly communicates hiſtorical information; carefully avoiding every reference to whatever previous knowledge of the ſubject his reader may accidentally poſſeſs. In this diſtinctneſs and perſpicuity, ſo conſpicuous in the great models of antiquity, ſome modern writers of unqueſtionable talents have failed to a degree which renders all their other merits of little value;—a failure more particularly obſervable, ſince it became faſhionable, after the example of Voltaire, to connect with the view of political tranſactions, an examination of their effects on the manners and condition of mankind, and to

* Mr. Laing.

blend

blend the lights of philoſophy with the appropriate beauties of hiſtorical compoſition. In conſequence of this innovation, while the province of the Hiſtorian has been enlarged and dignified, the difficulty of his taſk has encreaſed in the ſame proportion; reduced, as he muſt frequently be, to the alternative, either of interrupting unſeaſonably the chain of events, or, by interweaving diſquiſition and narrative together, of ſacrificing clearneſs to brevity. By few writers of the preſent age has this combination of philoſophy with hiſtory been more frequently attempted than by Dr. Robertſon; and by none have the inconveniencies which it threatens been more ſucceſsfully avoided. In the former reſpect his merit is great; but in the latter, he may be ſafely propoſed as a pattern for imitation.

Nor does the beauty of his narrative conſiſt only in the luminous diſtinctneſs, and pictureſque ſelection of his details. In a paſſage formerly quoted from one of Mr. Walpole's letters, it is mentioned, among the other recommendations of the Hiſtory of Scotland, that, "although "compoſed of pieces of information, each of "which would make a ſeparate memoir, yet "the whole is hurried on into one uninterrupted "ſtory." The remark is juſt, and it points at an excellence of the higheſt order, conſpicuous in all Dr. Robertſon's publications; the continuity which unites together the different parts of his ſubject, in conſequence of the addreſs and felicity diſplayed in his tranſitions. It is this laſt circumſtance which beſtows on his works

that

that unceaſing intereſt which conſtitutes one of the principal charms in tales of fiction; an intereſt eaſy to ſupport in relating a ſeries of imaginary adventures, but which, in hiſtorical compoſition, evinces, more than any thing elſe, the hand of a maſter.

The attainment of theſe different perfections was undoubtedly much facilitated by the plan which he adopted, of throwing into the form of Notes and Illuſtrations, whatever critical or ſcientific diſcuſſions appeared to him to interfere with the peculiar province of hiſtory. In one of the laſt converſations I had with him, he mentioned this as an improvement of conſiderable importance in hiſtorical writing; and his final judgment on the ſubject will be allowed to have great weight in favour of that mode of arrangement which he adopted. On this point, I know, there is a wide diverſity of opinion; nor do I think myſelf entitled to pronounce with confidence upon either ſide, where the beſt judges have heſitated in their deciſion. Our late excellent colleague Mr. Smith carried to ſuch a length his partiality to the ancient forms of claſſical compoſition, that he conſidered every ſpecies of note as a blemiſh or imperfection; indicating, either an idle accumulation of ſuperfluous particulars, or a want of ſkill and comprehenſion in the general deſign. Dr. Douglas too, the preſent Biſhop of Saliſbury, in a letter addreſſed to Dr. Robertſon on occaſion of his American Hiſtory, appears diſſatisfied with the local ſeparation of the notes from the

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text; without, however, difputing the general principle on which the arrangement of his materials proceeds. "I think," (fays he,) "that "your notes and illuftrations very frequently "contain matter of the greateft importance to "the ftrengthening the arguments and conclu-"fions you adopt in the body of the book; and "they are fo widely feparated by the mode of "your publication, that the reader cannot fee, "at one view, the great merit of your work. "Mr. Gibbon adopted this method, in imitation "of your Charles V.; but I believe he has found "the wifhes of the public in favour of another "arrangement; for I underftand in a new edi-"tion of his Hiftory which we are foon to have, "the notes and illuftrations are to be put at "the bottom of the pages to which they refer. "—I know you will excufe this liberty; and "very probably, as you have confidered the "matter more accurately than fuch readers as "I am, you can give very fubftantial reafons "for preferring the plan of throwing the notes "and illuftrations to the end of the volume."

On a queftion of this fort, the fuggeftions of fo learned and judicious a critic are undoubtedly entitled to peculiar deference: but I muft be permitted to exprefs my doubts whether he has added to their weight, by appealing to the arrangement of Mr. Gibbon; which, in this inftance, has always appeared to me to be inconvenient in the extreme. In no fpecies of writing is it agreeable to have the attention fo frequently withdrawn from the text; but in hif-

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torical writing it is impoſſible to deviſe a more effectual expedient for counteracting the effects of the Author's art. The curious reſearch and the epigrammatic wit ſo often diſplayed in Mr. Gibbon's notes, and which ſometimes render them more amuſing than even the eloquent narrative which they are meant to illuſtrate, ſerve only to add to the embarraſſment occaſioned by this unfortunate diſtribution of his materials. He ſeems, indeed, from a letter publiſhed in his poſthumous works, to have been fully ſatisfied, after a trial of both plans, that the preference was due to that which, after Dr. Robertſon's example, he had originally purſued. "I "cannot be diſpleaſed" (he obſerves) "with "the too numerous and correct impreſſions "which have been publiſhed for the uſe of the "Continent at Baſil in Switzerland. Of their "fourteen octavo volumes, the two laſt include "the whole body of the notes. The public im"portunity had forced me to remove them from "the end of the volume to the bottom of the "page; but I have often repented of my com"pliance*."

It is remarkable that no alternative ſhould have occurred to Mr. Gibbon between placing all his notes at the bottom of the page, or collecting them all in the form of an Appendix. In the firſt edition of his firſt volume, he followed Dr. Robertſon implicitly in adopting the latter method; which, although by far the more

* Vol. i. p. 178.

unexceptionable of the two, might be obvioufly improved by fome limitations. Mr. Hume, in a letter to Mr. Strahan, objects to it ftrongly. "One is plagued with Gibbon's notes, according to the prefent method of printing the book. When a note is announced, you turn to the end of the volume, and there you often find nothing but a reference to an authority. All thefe authorities ought only to be printed at the margin or the bottom of the page*."

What Mr. Hume here remarks concerning references to authorities, may be extended to thofe fhort explanatory fentences, which, being intended to facilitate the reader's progrefs, fhould unqueftionably be brought under his eye, at the fame time with the paffage they are intended to elucidate. Dr. Robertfon, as well as Mr. Gibbon, feems to have overlooked this diftinction between explanatory hints, and *notes* intended for the gratification of the curious; and hence have arifen (at leaft in part) thofe inconveniencies in the technical arrangement of his volumes, of which Dr. Douglas was led to complain.

A still more important blemifh, however, it muft be confeffed, than what this refpectable correfpondent has fpecified, is fometimes the real fource of the imperfection he has remarked; I mean, that a confiderable portion of the matter which is parcelled out among the notes ought to

* Gibbon's Poft. Works, vol. i. p. 500

have been incorporated with the text. Where a writer finds it neceſſary to enter into ſpeculation and diſcuſſion, the whole of his argument ſhould undoubtedly be ſtated at once, and not broken down into fragments, which the reader is to collect from different parts of the book. In thoſe diſſertations, therefore, which form ſo conſiderable a part both of the Hiſtory of Charles V. and of America, it would perhaps have been better if the Author had adhered leſs cloſely to the plan which he has ſo judiciouſly adopted in his hiſtorical narrative. The arguments which recommend it in the latter ſpecies of compoſition, it is ſufficiently evident, do not apply to it when introduced into the former.

After all, whoever attempts to inſtruct the world by any literary undertaking, whether hiſtorical or ſpeculative, will find it neceſſary, for the complete ſatisfaction of accurate inquirers, to engage in occaſional diſcuſſions which could not be introduced into the body of the work, without digreſſions inconſiſtent with a ſimple and diſtinct arrangement; nor compreſſed into notes at the bottom of the page, without ſtopping the reader's progreſs and miſleading his attention. No writer has been more completely aware of this than Mr. Hume, who, in all his publications, both hiſtorical and philoſophical, has diſtinguiſhed carefully thoſe incidental ſuggeſtions which are neceſſary to prevent any heſitation about the text from the critical diſquiſitions uſeful for ſatisfying men of curious re-

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ſearch, or for obviating the doubts of more refined ſpeculation. Dr. Robertſon's ſubjects, in all his Hiſtories excepting that of Scotland, engaged him in inquiries more open to controverſy, and in arguments reſting upon information leſs acceſſible to ordinary readers, than thoſe of Mr. Hume. His proofs and illuſtrations, accordingly, bear a far greater proportion to the ſize of his volumes; but I am inclined to think, that, if examined with proper attention, the arrangement of them will be found (with a few exceptions) to reflect no leſs honour on his taſte and diſcernment.

THE ſtreſs which Dr. Robertſon himſelf laid on this peculiarity in his mode of compoſition, added to the indeciſion of Mr. Gibbon with reſpect to its propriety, will, I hope, apologize ſufficiently for the minuteneſs with which ſome of the foregoing particulars are ſtated.—The general queſtion concerning the expediency of imitating the ancients, in limiting an author's intercourſe with his readers, to what is conveyed in the text, does not ſeem to me to admit of diſcuſſion. Conſidered as ſources of authentic and of accurate information, the value of the claſſics is infinitely diminiſhed by this very circumſtance; and few, I believe, have ſtudied Mr. Smith's works, (particularly his Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations,) without regretting, on ſome occaſions, the omiſſion of his authorities; and, on others, the digreſſions into which he

has been led, by conforming ſo ſcrupulouſly to the example of antiquity.

Of Dr. Robertſon's merits as an Hiſtorian, as far as they are connected with the genius of the language in which he wrote, it does not become a native of this part of the Iſland to expreſs a decided opinion. And, accordingly, in the few remarks which I am to hazard on that ſubject, although I ſhall ſtate my own judgment with freedom, I would be underſtood to write with all poſſible diffidence.

The general ſtrain of his compoſition is flowing, equal, and majeſtic; harmonious beyond that of moſt Engliſh writers, yet ſeldom deviating, in queſt of harmony, into inverſion, redundancy, or affectation. If, in ſome paſſages, it may be thought that the effect might have been heightened by ſomewhat more of variety in the ſtructure and cadence of his periods, it muſt be recollected that this criticiſm involves an encomium on the beauty of his ſtyle; for it is only where the ear is habitually gratified, that the rhythm of compoſition becomes an object of the reader's attention.

In comparing his turn of expreſſion with that of the Claſſical Writers of England, a difference may, I think, be perceived; originating in the provincial ſituation of the country where he received his education and ſpent his life: and, if I am not much miſtaken, the ſame obſervation may be extended, in a greater or leſs degree, to moſt of our contemporaries who have

laboured under ſimilar diſadvantages. I do not allude, at preſent, to what are commonly called *Scotticiſms*; for, from theſe Dr. Robertſon's works have been allowed, by the moſt competent judges, to be remarkably free; but to an occaſional ſubſtitution of general or of circuitous modes of expreſſion inſtead of the ſimple and ſpecific Engliſh phraſe. An author who lives at a diſtance from the acknowledged ſtandard of elegance, writes in a dialect different from that in which he is accuſtomed to ſpeak; and is naturally led to evade, as much as poſſible, the hazardous uſe of idiomatical phraſes, by the employment of ſuch as accord with the general analogy of the language. Hence, in all the lighter and more familiar kinds of writing, the riſk of ſacrificing eaſe and vivacity, and what Dr. Johnſon calls *genuine Angliciſm* *, in order to ſecure correctneſs and purity; and hence the difficulties with which thoſe of our countrymen have had to ſtruggle, who have aimed at the freedom of the epiſtolary ſtyle, or who have attempted to catch the ſhadowy and fleeting forms of Comic Dialogue. The peculiarity in the manner of *Livy*, cenſured by *Aſinius Pollio*, was probably of a ſimilar deſcription; ariſing leſs from an admixture of *Paduan* idioms than from the abſence of ſuch as marked the dialect of *Rome*. "In Tito Livio," (ſays Quinctilian) "miræ facundiæ viro, putat ineſſe Pollio Aſi-

* "If Addiſon's language had been leſs idiomatical, it would "have loſt ſomething of its genuine Angliciſm."——*Lives of the Poets*.

"nius

"nius quandum Patavinitatem. Quare, si fieri "potest, et verba omnia, et vox, hujus alumnum "Urbis oleant; ut oratio Romana planè vi-"deatur, non civitate donata*."

If, however, in these and a few other respects, important advantages are possessed by those whose standard of propriety is always before them in their ordinary habits of conversation and of business, it must perhaps be granted, on the other hand, that an ear thus familiarized from infancy to phrases which it has been accustomed to retain, without any selection, or any reference to general principles, can scarcely fail to have some effect in blunting an author's discrimination between the established modes of classical expression and the accidental jargon of the day. Illustrations of this remark might be easily collected from writers of the highest and most deserved reputation; more particularly from some who have cultivated, with the greatest success, the appropriate graces of the English tongue.—Even the works of Dr. Middleton, which have been often recommended to Scotchmen as the safest models for their imitation, abound with instances of colloquial language, sanctioned probably by the authority of the fashionable speakers of his time, but which, I should suppose, would now be considered as vulgarisms, by such of his countrymen as have formed their taste on the compositions either of an earlier or of a later period.

* Quinctil. l. viii. c. 1.

In guarding againſt theſe temporary modes of ſpeech, the provincial reſidence of a Scotchman may ſometimes have its uſe, by teaching him to diſtruſt his ear as an arbiter of elegance, and to appeal on every queſtionable point to the practice of thoſe whoſe eſtabliſhed reputation gives the ſtamp of propriety to the phraſeology they have employed. If his compoſition be deficient in eaſe, it may be expected not to fall under the ordinary ſtandard, in point of purity: nay, it is not impoſſible, that in his ſolicitude to avoid idiomatical phraſes, he may be occaſionally led to animate and to ennoble his diction; or, by uncommon and fortunate combinations of words, to give to familiar ideas the charm of novelty.

The ſpecies of compoſition to which Dr. Robertſon directed his ſtudies, was peculiarly adapted to his local ſituation, by affording him an opportunity of diſplaying all the talents he poſſeſſed without impoſing on him a trial of his powers in thoſe kinds of writing where a Scotchman is moſt likely to fail. In delineating the characters of Princes, Stateſmen, and Warriors, or in recording events that have happened on the great theatre of public affairs, a certain elevation of language is naturally inſpired by the magnitude of the ſubject. The engaging and pathetic details of domeſtic life vaniſh before the eye which contemplates the fortunes of nations, and the Revolutions of Empire; and there is even a gravity of manner, excluſive of every thing familiar or flippant, which accords

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with our idea of him who ſits in judgment on the generations that are paſt. It may, perhaps, be queſtioned by ſome, whether Dr. Robertſon has not carried to an extreme, his idea of what he has himſelf called the *dignity of hiſtory*; but, whatever opinion we form on this point, it cannot be diſputed, that his plan of ſeparating the materials of hiſtorical compoſition from thoſe which fall under the provinces of the Antiquary, and of the writer of Memoirs, was on the whole happily conceived; and that one great charm of his works ariſes from the taſte and judgment with which he has carried it into execution.—Nor has he ſuffered this ſcrupulous regard to the unity of hiſtorical ſtyle to exclude that variety which was neceſſary for keeping alive the reader's attention. Whenever his ſubject admits of being enriched or adorned by political or philoſophical diſquiſition, by picturesque deſcription, or by the intereſting details of a romantic epiſode, he ſcruples not to try his ſtrength with thoſe who have excelled the moſt in theſe different departments of literature; uniformly, however, avoiding to mingle in the humble ſcenes of ordinary life, or to meet his rivals on any ground where he did not feel himſelf completely their equal.

To this ſyſtematical ſelection of the more regular and analogical forms of conſtruction, is to be aſcribed, in a conſiderable degree, his popularity among foreigners, who unite in eſteeming him, not only as one of the moſt eloquent, but

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as one of the moſt intelligible of our writers. And, it may be preſumed, the ſame circumſtance will ſecure in his favour the ſuffrages of poſterity, when the paſſing idioms generated by the capricious modes of our own times, ſhall be antiquated or forgotten *.

I HAVE only to add, that ſome of the foregoing obſervations apply more ſtrongly to Dr. Robertſon's earlier than to his later publications. In the Hiſtory of Charles V., and ſtill more in that of America, he ventures on expreſſions which he would not have hazarded before the eſtabliſhment of his literary name; and accordingly, it may be doubted, whether, in conſequence of this circumſtance, he did not loſe in purity of diction what he gained in eaſe and freedom. Perhaps, on the whole, it will be found that of all his performances, Charles V. is that which unites the various requiſites of good writing in the greateſt degree. The ſtyle is more natural and flowing than that of the Hiſtory of Scotland; while, at the ſame time, idiomatical phraſes are introduced with ſo ſparing and timid a hand, that it is eaſy to perceive the Author's attention to correctneſs was not ſenſibly diminiſhed. In the Hiſtory of America, although it contains many paſſages equal, if not ſuperior, to any thing elſe in his writings, the compoſition does not ſeem to me to be ſo uniformly poliſhed as that of his former works;

* See Appendix to the Life, Note H.

nor

nor does it always poſſeſs, in the ſame degree, the recommendations of conciſeneſs and ſimplicity *.

SECTION V.

Review of the more active Occupations of Dr. ROBERTSON'S *Life.—Concluſion of the Narrative.—Sketch of his Character.*

IN reviewing the Hiſtory of Dr. Robertſon's Life, our attention has hitherto been confined to thoſe purſuits which formed the habitual occupation of his mind; and which have left behind them unperiſhable monuments. His life, however, was not devoted wholly to the cultivation of letters. His talents fitted him in an eminent degree for the buſineſs of the world; and the ſtation in which Providence placed him opened to him a field, which, however unequal to his ambition or to his genius, afformed him the means of evincing what he might have accompliſhed, if his ſphere of exertion had been more extenſive and brilliant.

AMONG the active ſcenes in which he had an opportunity to engage, the moſt conſpicuous was preſented to him by the Supreme Eccleſiaſtical Court in Scotland. Of the conſtitution of this court, accordingly, which differs in ſome remarkable particulars from the clerical convocations in other Chriſtian countries, a general

* See Appendix to the Life, Note I.

outline

outline is neceſſary, in order to convey a juſt idea of the abilities, which ſecured to him, for a long courſe of years, an unrivalled influence in guiding its deliberations*.

"The General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland is compoſed of repreſentatives from the preſbyteries; from the royal boroughs; from the four univerſities; and from the Scotch church of Campvere in Holland. The preſbyteries ſend two hundred and ninety members,

* For the materials both of this outline and of the ſubſequent view of Dr. Robertſon's ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical policy, I am indebted to a paper drawn up (at the requeſt of Dr. Robertſon's ſon,) by the Rev. George Hill, D.D. Principal of St. Mary's College in the Univerſity of St. Andrews; a gentleman intimately connected with Dr. Robertſon by friendſhip, and highly reſpected by him for the talents and eloquence which he has for many years diſplayed in the eccleſiaſtical courts. In general I have tranſcribed Dr. Hill's words, taking the liberty occaſionally to make ſuch ſlight alterations on the language as were neceſſary for preſerving ſome degree of uniformity in the ſtyle of my narrative; and a few retrenchments, which the plan of this Memoir rendered unavoidable. That the public, however, may not loſe any part of ſo valuable a communication, I have inſerted in the Appendix, the paragraphs which are here omitted.

As Dr. Hill's paper was ſubmitted to the examination, and received the unqualified approbation of three of Dr. Robertſon's moſt confidential friends (1), it may be regarded as an authentic ſtatement of his general principles of church government. For the ſake of connection, I have adopted into this Section ſuch parts of it as ſeemed to me to be neceſſary for completing the hiſtory of his life; abſtaining, however, ſcrupulouſly from hazarding any ideas of my own, on the ſubject to which it relates.

(1) Drs. Blair, Carlyle, and Grieve.

of

of whom two hundred and one are minifters, and eighty-nine lay-elders; the royal boroughs fend fixty-feven members, all of whom are laymen; the univerfities fend five members, who may be either laymen, or minifters holding an office in the univerfity; and the church of Campvere fends two members, one minifter, and one lay-elder. The whole number is three hundred and fixty-four, of whom two hundred and two are minifters, and one hundred and fixty-two laymen; including in the latter clafs the members from the univerfities. The annual fittings of the Affembly continue only for ten days; but a Committee of the whole Houfe (called the Commiffion) has four ftated Meetings in the year, for the difpatch of whatever bufinefs the General Affembly has been unable to overtake *.

In fubordination to this fupreme court, there is a feries of inferior judicatories rifing, one above another, in authority.—The loweft of thefe is the *Kirk-Seffions*, or Parochial Confiftories; compofed of the minifters, together with the lay-elders of their refpective parifhes. The minifters of a number of contiguous parifhes, together with certain reprefentatives from the Kirk-Seffions, form a *Prefbytery*; and a plurality of prefbyteries (differing in number according to accidental circumftances) form a provincial *Synod*.

While the conftitution of the Scottifh church admits of no fuperiority of one minifter above another, it requires from all its individual mem-

* See Appendix to the Life, Note K.

bers,

bers, and from all its inferior judicatories, ſtrict obedience to thoſe who are placed in authority over them. Every court is bound to lay the record of all its proceedings from time to time before the tribunal which is its immediate ſuperior; any part of its proceedings may be brought, by appeal or complaint, under the review of a higher juriſdiction; and every miniſter, when he receives orders, comes under a ſolemn engagement, "to aſſert, maintain, and "defend the doctrines, diſcipline, and government of the church; and never to attempt "any thing, directly or indirectly, which may "tend to its ſubverſion or prejudice."

In conſequence of this ſubordination of judicatories, the General Aſſembly determines, as the court of laſt reſort, all the cauſes brought under its review, and has the power of enforcing without controul, obedience to its decrees. It poſſeſſes alſo extenſive legiſlative powers, as it may, with the concurrence of a majority of preſbyteries, enact laws for the government of the whole church.

By the Act of 1592, which gave a legal eſtabliſhment to the form of church government now delineated, the patron of a vacant pariſh was entitled to preſent to the preſbytery a perſon properly qualified; and the preſbytery were required, after ſubjecting the preſentee to certain trials and examinations, of which they were conſtituted the judges, "to ordain and ſettle "him as miniſter of the pariſh, provided no re- "levant objection ſhould be ſtated to his life,

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"doctrine, and qualifications." This right of presentation, however, although conferred by the fundamental charter of Presbyterian government in Scotland, was early complained of as a grievance; and accordingly, it was abolished by an act passed under the Usurpation. At the Restoration it was again recovered, but it was retained only for a few years; the Revolution having introduced a new system, which vested the right of election in the heritors, elders, and heads of families in the parish. The 10th of Queen Anne at last restored the rights of patrons; but the exercise of these rights was found to be so extremely unpopular, that ministers were generally settled, till after the year 1730, in the manner prescribed by the Act of King William.

During this long period, an aversion to the law of patronage took deep root in the minds of the people; and the circumstances of the times were such as to render it inexpedient for the church courts to contend with a prejudice so inveterate and universal.

When the Presbyterian establishment fell a sacrifice to the policy introduced at the Restoration, the ministers who refused to conform to prelacy were ejected from their churches, and underwent a severe persecution. The firmness which they displayed on this occasion exhibits a strength of character which has never been surpassed; but their situation, while deprived of the countenance of law, and left entirely to the guidance of private conscience, was necessarily

 such,

ſuch, as to inſpire *independent* principles inconſiſtent with regular ſubordination and diſcipline; and, accordingly, at the Revolution, when the Preſbyterian government was re-eſtabliſhed, and many of the ejected miniſters reſtored to their pulpits, they brought along with them into the church a ſpirit ſcarcely compatible with the connection in which it ſtood with the paramount authority of the ſtate. Their ſucceſſors, trained in the ſame ſentiments, ſaw the right of patronage revived in times which they regarded with a jealous eye; and, without allowing themſelves to weigh the expediency of that mode of ſettlement, they conſidered it as an appendage of epiſcopacy which it was the duty of every good Preſbyterian to oppoſe.—While the people, therefore, reſiſted with violence the firſt attempt which was made about the year 1730 to exerciſe this right, the church courts, although they could not entirely diſregard the law, contrived in many inſtances to render it ineffectual, and ſanctioned by their authority the prevailing prejudices againſt it. They admitted it as an uncontrovertible principle in Preſbyterian church government, that a preſentee, although perfectly well qualified, and unexceptionable in life and doctrine, was nevertheleſs inadmiſſible to his clerical office, till the concurrence of the people who were to be under his miniſtry had been regularly aſcertained. The form of expreſſing this concurrence was by the ſubſcription of a paper termed a *Call*; which was conſidered as a ſtep ſo indiſpenſible towards conſtituting the paſtoral

paſtoral relation, that the church courts, when diſſatisfied with it, as an expreſſion of the general wiſhes of the pariſh, ſometimes ſet aſide the preſentee altogether; and when they did authoriſe a ſettlement, proceeded in a manner which ſufficiently implied a greater reſpect for the call than for the preſentation.

THE circumſtances underſtood to be neceſſary for conſtituting an adequate *call*, were unſuſceptible of a preciſe definition. The unanimous conſent of landholders, elders, and heads of families, was ſeldom to be looked for; nor was even an abſolute majority conſidered as indiſpenſable, if the concurrence afforded a reaſonable proſpect of an harmonious and uſeful ſettlement. This principle of deciſion was ſo vague in itſelf, and ſo arbitrary in its application, that much was left in the church courts to the private judgment of individuals, and much to their prejudices and paſſions; while the people, finding that a noiſy and ſtrenuous oppoſition ſeldom failed of ſucceſs, were encouraged to proſecute their object by tumult and violence. Many of the clergy, conſidering it as a matter of conſcience not to take any ſhare in the ſettlement of an obnoxious preſentee, refuſed on ſuch occaſions to carry into execution the orders of their ſuperiors; and ſuch was the temper of the times, that the leading men of the Aſſembly, although they wiſhed to ſupport the law of the land, found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to expedients; impoſing ſlight cenſures on the diſobedient, and appointing ſpecial committees (whom it was found ſometimes neceſſary to pro-

tect by a military force,) to difcharge the duties which the others had declined.

Measures of this kind, purfued with little variation for about twenty years, had fo relaxed the difcipline of the church, that individuals openly claimed it as a right to difobey its fentences, whenever their difobedience was juftified, according to the beft of their judgment, by a principle of confcience.

Such was the ftate of the ecclefiaftical eftablifhment in Scotland when Dr. Robertfon and his friends began to take an active fhare in its bufinefs. Diffatisfied with the fyftem adopted by his predeceffors, and convinced that the more free any conftitution is, the greater is the danger of violating its fundamental laws, his vigorous and enlightened mind fuggefted to him the neceffity of oppofing more decifive meafures to thefe growing diforders, and of maintaining the authority of the church by enforcing the fubmiffion of all its members. The two capital articles by which he conceived Prefbytery to be diftinguifhed from every other ecclefiaftical eftablifhment, were the parity of its minifters, and the fubordination of its judicatories.—"Wherever there "is a fubordination of courts," (as he has himfelf obferved in an authentic document of his "ecclefiaftical principles,) "there is one court "that muft be fupreme; for fubordination were "in vain, if it did not terminate in fome laft "refort. Such a fupreme judicature is the "General Affembly of the church of Scot-"land; and therefore, if its decifions could

"be diſputed and diſobeyed by inferior courts "with impunity, the Preſbyterian conſtitution "would be entirely overturned. On this ſuppo- "ſition, there is no occaſion for the church of "Scotland to meet in its General Aſſemblies "any more; its government is at an end; and "it is expoſed to the contempt and ſcorn of the "world, as a church without union, order, or "diſcipline; deſtitute of ſtrength to ſupport its "own conſtitution, and falling into ruins by the "abuſe of liberty."

A QUESTION which came under the conſideration of the Aſſembly in the year 1751, when he ſpoke for the firſt time in that ſupreme court, afforded him an opportunity of unfolding his general principles of eccleſiaſtical government. The conduct of a clergyman, who had diſobeyed a ſentence of a former Aſſembly, gave riſe to a warm diſcuſſion; in the courſe of which Dr. Robertſon, ſupported by a few of his friends, contended for the expediency of a ſevere and exemplary ſentence. But this doctrine was then ſo little underſtood or reliſhed, that he was left in an inconſiderable minority.

THE *Commiſſion* of that Aſſembly, at their meeting, in November 1751, ordered the Preſbytery of Dunfermline, which had already been guilty of diſobedience, to admit Mr. Richardſon as miniſter of Inverkeithing; intimating to them, at the ſame time, that in caſe of their continued contumacy, the Commiſſion was to proceed, at their next meeting in March, to a very high cenſure. The Preſbytery again diſobeyed; and

yet the Commiſſion, with a prepoſterous lenity, ſuffered their conduct to paſs with impunity. The inconſiſtency and inexpediency of this ſentence were urged ſtrenuouſly by Dr. Robertſon and his friends, who in their *diſſent*, or proteſt againſt it, have left a valuable record of the general principles on which they acted. The paper is ſtill extant, and though evidently a haſty compoſition, bears, in various paſſages, the marks of Dr. Robertſon's hand*.

Dr. Robertson argued this cauſe in the General Aſſembly 1752; and, ſuch was the impreſſion made by the argument contained in the proteſt, and more fully illuſtrated in his ſpeech, that the ſupreme court reverſed the judgment of the Commiſſion, and depoſed one of the miniſters of the preſbytery of Dunfermline, for diſobeying the orders of his ſuperiors.

This deciſion was the complete triumph of the principles for which Dr. Robertſon and his friends had ſtruggled. It put an end to thoſe temporary expedients and devices which had hitherto been adopted in the ſettlement of pariſhes: it put an end to thoſe extraordinary committees which Aſſemblies had been in uſe to appoint for relieving diſobedient preſbyteries from their duty; and it adminiſtered to the inferior judicatories, as well as to individuals, an uſeful leſſon of that ſubordination which the peace of ſociety requires.

The ſucceſs of theſe attempts had probably ſome effect in determining Dr. Robertſon to

* See Appendix to the Life, Note L.

continue

continue his attention to the affairs of the church; more efpecially, after his office in the Univerfity put it in his power to be returned annually as a reprefentative to the General Affembly. By an uninterrupted attendance in that court for nearly twenty years, he acquired an intimate acquaintance with the whole train of its bufinefs; while the influence which he thus fecured was increafed and confirmed by his conciliating manners; by the charms of his converfation; and by the celebrity of his name. He had the happinefs alfo of being warmly fupported by moft of the friends who joined him in the Affembly 1751; and who, without any jealoufy of the afcendant which he poffeffed, arranged themfelves with cordiality under his ftandard. The period from his appointment as Principal of the Univerfity till his retreat from public life, came, accordingly, to be diftinguifhed by the name of Dr. Robertfon's *adminiftration*: a name which implied, not any appointment from Government, nor any power in the diftribution of favours; but merely the weight he derived from the confidence of a great majority of his brethren, who approved of the general principles on which he acted.

The circumftances which chiefly diftinguifhed his fyftem of policy were, *firft*, a fteady and uniform fupport of the law of patronage; and, *fecondly*, an impartial exercife of the judicial power of the church*.

* See Appendix to the Life, Note M.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

In the former of theſe reſpects, his exertions are ſuppoſed by his friends, not only to have produced in the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment a tranquillity unknown in former times; but to have contributed, in no ſmall degree, to the peace and good order of the country. The public language of the church ſeems to bear teſtimony to the prevalence of theſe ideas. For a long ſeries of years annual inſtructions had been given to the *Commiſſion*, "to make due "application to the King and Parliament, for "redreſs of the grievance of patronage, in caſe "a favourable opportunity for doing ſo ſhould "occur." But theſe inſtructions were omitted in 1784, ſoon after Dr. Robertſon retired from the buſineſs of the Aſſembly; and they have never ſince been renewed.

A SYSTEMATICAL regularity, to which the church of Scotland had been little accuſtomed, in the exerciſe of its judicial power, was another effect of the aſcendant which Dr. Robertſon poſſeſſed in the conduct of its buſineſs.

A COURT ſo popular in its conſtitution as the General Aſſembly, is but ill calculated for the patient and diſpaſſionate inveſtigation neceſſary for the adminiſtration of juſtice. As its annual ſittings, too, continue only for a few days, its mode of procedure (irregular and looſe as it is in many reſpects) is very imperfectly underſtood by the great majority of clerical members, who enjoy a ſeat in it only once in four or five years: hence, an inattention to forms; and a diſpoſition to undervalue their importance, when they ap-

pear

pear to ſtand in the way of immediate expediency. To correct, as far as poſſible, this unfortunate bias, inherent in the conſtitution of all popular tribunals, Dr. Robertſon felt it to be his duty to employ all his abilities; convinced that a wiſe and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice can only be effectually ſecured by a ſtrict adherence to eſtabliſhed rules. A complete acquaintance with theſe, which he ſoon acquired from his regular attendance on the deliberations of the Aſſembly, gave him a decided ſuperiority over thoſe who were only occaſionally members; and he was enabled gradually to enforce their ſtrict obſervance by the confidence which was generally repoſed in his principles and his talents.

Such were the objects which Dr. Robertſon had chiefly in view as an eccleſiaſtical leader, and which he proſecuted, during thirty years, with ſo great ſteadineſs and ſucceſs, that not only the ſyſtem introduced by him continues ſtill in vigour, but the deciſions which he dictated form a ſort of *Common Law* of the church*."—With reſpect to the various incidental diſcuſſions in which he was, on different occaſions, called on to take an active concern, it is impoſſible for me to enter into detail. One of theſe, however, which occurred towards the cloſe of his public life, is of too memorable a nature to be paſſed over in ſilence.—

* Thus far I have availed myſelf of Dr. Hill's communication. A more full illuſtration of ſome of the particulars here ſtated, will be found in the Appendix.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI

The

The diſturbances occaſioned in Scotland in 1779, by the propoſed extenſion to that part of the kingdom of the repeal of the penal laws againſt Roman Catholics, are well known to all who have the ſlighteſt acquaintance with the hiſtory of that period; and are ſtill freſh in the recollection of the greater part of this Society. Some of us too are able to bear teſtimony, from what fell under our own immediate obſervation, to the firmneſs and tranquillity which Dr. Robertſon diſplayed at a very critical juncture: when, after repeated acts of ſucceſsful and unpuniſhed outrage, committed in different parts of this city, a furious populace threatened an attack on his houſe, and were only reſtrained by a military force, from ſacrificing his life to their vengeance.

The leading principles which on that occaſion directed his conduct in the church courts, will be beſt underſtood from a ſtatement of facts which formed part of one of his ſpeeches in the ſubſequent Aſſembly*.

"The firſt intimation I had of any intention to grant relief to Papiſts from the rigour "of penal ſtatutes, was in the newſpapers.

* The following extract is tranſcribed, with ſome trifling verbal corrections, from an account of the proceedings of the General Aſſembly, publiſhed in the Scots Magazine for 1779. As the account in general (I am aſſured) is executed with correctneſs and impartiality, the *ſubſtance* of Dr. Robertſon's ſpeech may be preſumed to be faithfully ſtated; but, in other reſpects, ample allowances muſt be made for the inaccuracies to be expected from an anonymous reporter, writing (as is probable) from memory, or from imperfect notes.

"Though

" Though I had obſerved with pleaſure, the
" rapid progreſs of liberal ſentiments in this
" enlightened age; though I knew that ſcience
" and philoſophy had diffuſed the ſpirit of tole-
" ration through almoſt every part of Europe;
" yet I was ſo well acquainted with the deep-
" rooted averſion of Britons to the doctrines and
" ſpirit of Popery, that I ſuſpected this motion
" for giving relief to Papiſts to be premature.
" I was afraid, on the one hand, that the libe-
" ral ſentiments of thoſe by whom it was made
" might induce them to grant too much. I
" dreaded, on the other, that paſt offences
" might be imputed to the Catholics of the pre-
" ſent age, and exclude them from that degree
" of indulgence, which I conſidered as no leſs
" beneficial to the nation, than ſuitable to the
" ſpirit of the Goſpel. But when I obſerved
" the uncommon unanimity with which the bill
" was carried through both houſes; when I ſaw
" Miniſtry and Oppoſition vying with each other
" in activity to forward it; when I beheld that
" reſpectable body who aſſume to themſelves the
" diſtinguiſhing appellation of *Old Whigs* taking
" the lead avowedly in ſupporting it; when I
" obſerved a Bench of Biſhops, of whom I may
" juſtly ſay, that, in learning, in decency of
" manners, and in zeal for the Proteſtant reli-
" gion, they are not inferior to any of their pre-
" deceſſors, co-operating heartily with the other
" promoters of that bill, my curioſity to know
" preciſely the nature and extent of the indul-
" gence granted, became very great. Upon
" peruſing the bill itſelf, all my apprehenſions
" vaniſhed;

" vanifhed; the relief given to Papifts appeared " neither too great nor too little. By the ftatute " of laft feffion, no political power is conferred " on Papifts. They are not entitled to hold " any public office. They can neither elect, " nor be elected, members of any corporation; " far lefs can they chufe, or be chofen members " of the Houfe of Commons. In confequence " of this ftatute, an Englifh Papift has not " acquired the privileges of a citizen; he is re- " ftored only to the rights of a man. By a law " paffed in a feafon of jealoufy, alarm and fac- " tion, Papifts were rendered incapable of in- " heriting property by fucceffion or conveyance, " of tranfmitting it to others, or of acquiring it " by purchafe; and the ecclefiaftics of that reli- " who fhould take upon them the education of " youth, were to be punifhed with perpetual " imprifonment. It is from thefe penalties and " difabilities alone, that they are now relieved. " They may now inherit, they may devife, they " may purchafe. Formerly they were in a ftate " of profcription and incapacity; now they are " rendered what the law calls *perfonæ;* capable " of legal functions in the poffeffion and difpofal " of their own property. Nor are thefe concef- " fions gratuitous. Before a Papift can enjoy " the benefit of them, he muft fwear allegiance " to our gracious Sovereign; he muft abjure the " Pretender; he muft reject as an impious pofi- " tion, that it is lawful to murder or deftroy any " perfon under the pretence of their being here- " tics; he muft declare it to be an unchriftian " principle, that faith is not to be kept with

" heretics;

" heretics; he muſt diſclaim the power of the " Pope to diſpenſe with the obligation of an " oath; he muſt ſwear, that it is no article of " his faith that a Pope or Council can either " depoſe princes, or exerciſe any civil or tem- " poral juriſdiction within this realm: in ſhort, " he muſt give every ſecurity that the moſt ſcru- " pulous anxiety could deviſe, to demean him- " ſelf as a loyal and peaceable ſubject. Theſe " ſlender rights, the loweſt a man can claim or " enjoy in a ſocial ſtate, are the amount of all " the mighty and dreaded acquiſitions made by " Papiſts in virtue of this law. I rejoiced in " the temperate wiſdom of the legiſlature, and " foreſaw, that a wealthy body of ſubjects in " England, and a very numerous one in Ireland, " would, inſtead of continuing adverſe to a " government which treated them with rigour, " become attached to their King and country by " the moſt powerful of all ties, gratitude for " favours received, and deſire of ſecuring the " continuance of favour, by dutiful conduct. " With ſuch views of the ſalutary effects of the " repeal, it was impoſſible not to wiſh that the " benefit of it might be extended to the Roman " Catholics in Scotland. * * * *

* * * *

" As ſoon, however, as I perceived the extent " and violence of the flame which the diſcuſſion " of this ſubject had kindled in Scotland, my " ideas concerning the expedience at this junc- " ture of the meaſure in queſtion, began to alter. " For although I did think, and I do ſtill be-

" lieve,

"lieve, that if the Proteſtants in this country "had acquieſced in the repeal as quietly as our "brethren in England and Ireland, a fatal blow "would have been given to Popery in the "Britiſh dominions; I knew, that in legiſlation, "the ſentiments and diſpoſitions of the people "for whom laws are made, ſhould be attended "to with care. I remembered that one of the "wiſeſt men of antiquity declared, that he had "framed for his fellow-citizens not the beſt laws, "but the beſt laws which they could bear. I "recollected with reverence, that the Divine "Legiſlator himſelf, accommodating his diſpen-"ſations to the frailty of his ſubjects, had given "the Iſraelites for a ſeaſon, *ſtatutes which were* "*not good.* Even the prejudices of the people "are, in my opinion, reſpectable; and an indul-"gent legiſlature ought not unneceſſarily to "run counter to them. It appeared manifeſtly "to be ſound policy, in the preſent temper of "the people, to ſoothe rather than to irritate "them; and however ill-founded their appre-"henſions might be, ſome conceſſion was now "requiſite in order to remove them. In every "argument againſt the repeal of the penal laws, "what ſeemed chiefly to alarm my brethren "who were adverſe to it, was the liberty which, "as they ſuppoſed, was given by the act of laſt "ſeſſion to Popiſh eccleſiaſtics to open ſchools, "and take upon them the public inſtruction of "youth. In order to quiet their fears with "reſpect to this, I applied to His Majeſty's "Advocate and Solicitor-General, and by their

" permiſſion, I propoſed to a reſpectable miniſter " and elder of this church, who deſervedly poſ- " ſeſs much credit with the oppoſers of this " repeal, that ſuch proviſos ſhould be inſerted " in the bill which was to be moved in Par- " liament, for reſtraining the Popiſh clergy in " this point, as would obviate every danger " apprehended. Theſe gentlemen fairly told " me, that, if ſuch a propoſition had been made " more early, they did not doubt that it might " have produced good effects; but now matters " were gone ſo far, that they were perſuaded " nothing leſs would ſatisfy the people than a " reſolution to drop the bill altogether. Per- " ſuaded of the truth of what they repreſented, " ſeeing the alarm ſpread rapidly in every " quarter, and knowing well how imperfectly " tranſactions in this country are underſtood in " the other part of the iſland, I conſidered it " as my duty to lay before His Majeſty's ſervants " in London, a fair ſtate of the ſentiments of " the people in Scotland. My ſtation in the " church, I thought, intitled me to take this " liberty in a matter purely eccleſiaſtical. I " flattered myſelf, that my avowed approbation " and ſtrenuous ſupport of a meaſure which had " been unhappily ſo much miſunderſtood, might " give ſome weight to my repreſentations. I " informed them, that the deſign of extending " the repeal of the penal ſtatutes of King Wil- " liam to Scotland, had excited a very general " alarm: that the ſpirit of oppoſition to this " meaſure ſpread among the King's moſt loyal

" and

" and attached ſubjects in this country: that " nothing would calm and appeaſe them, but " the relinquiſhing all thoughts of ſuch a bill: " that the procuring of the intended relaxation " for a handful of Catholics, was not an advan- " tage to be put in competition with the impru- " dence of irritating ſo great a body of well- " affected ſubjects: that if the meaſure were " perſiſted in, fatal effects would follow, and no " man, how great ſoever his ſagacity might be, " could venture to foretel what would be the " extent of the danger, and what the violent " operations of an incenſed populace: that, " groundleſs as the fears of the people might " be, it was prudent to quiet them: and that " the ſame wiſdom and moderation which had " induced Government ſome years ago, to re- " peal the act for naturalizing the Jews, in con- " ſequence of an alarm, as ill-grounded in the " ſouthern parts of the iſland, ought now to " make a ſimilar conceſſion, from indulgence " to the prejudice of the people on this ſide of " the Tweed.

" SUCH has been the tenor of my conduct. " While I thought a repeal of the penal ſtatutes " would produce good effects, I ſupported it " openly: when I foreſaw bad conſequences " from perſiſting in a meaſure which I had " warmly approved, I preferred the public good " to my own private ſentiments; I honeſtly " remonſtrated againſt it; and I have the ſatis- " faction to think, that I am the only private " perſon (as far as I know) in Scotland, who " applied

"applied to those in power, in order to prevent "this much dreaded repeal, which has been represented as the subversion of every sacred "right for which our ancestors contended and "suffered."

* * * *

The last Assembly in which Dr. Robertson sat was that of 1780. While his faculties were yet vigorous, his constitution unbroken, and his influence undiminished, he chose to withdraw from the active scenes in which he had so long borne a part, and to consecrate the remainder of his life to the quiet pursuits of study, and to the pastoral duties of his profession. His retreat was deeply regretted and sincerely felt by his friends; nor was it less lamented by many individuals of the opposite party in the church, who, while they resisted his principles of ecclesiastical policy, loved his candour, and respected his integrity *.

Among these, there is one, whose liberal and affectionate zeal in embalming the memory of a political antagonist, recalls to our recollection, amidst the unrelenting rancour which disgraces the factions of modern times, the memorable tribute which *Metellus* paid to the virtues of *Scipio* on the day of his funeral: *Ite, Filii, celebrate exequias; nunquam Civis majoris funus videbitis* †.—I need scarcely, after what I have hinted, mention to the Society the name

* See Appendix to the Life, Note N.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 44.

 of

of Dr. Erſkine; of whoſe Sermon on the death of his colleague, it is difficult to ſay, whether it reflects greater honour on the character of the Writer, or of him whom it commemorates. The Author will, I hope, pardon me for tranſcribing one paſſage, which is intimately connected with this part of my ſubject, and which combines, with a teſtimony of ineſtimable value to Dr. Robertſon's fame, ſome important information which I could not ſupply from any ſource of equal authority.

"His ſpeeches in church courts were ad-"mired by thoſe whom they did not convince, "and acquired and preſerved him an influence "over a majority in them, which none before "him enjoyed: though his meaſures were ſome-"times new, and warmly, and with great "ſtrength of argument, oppoſed, both from "the preſs, and in the General Aſſembly. To "this influence many cauſes contributed:—his "firm adherence to the general principles of "church policy, which he early adopted; his "ſagacity in forming plans; his ſteadineſs in "executing them; his quick diſcernment of "whatever might hinder or promote his de-"ſigns; his boldneſs in encountering difficulties; "his preſence of mind in improving every oc-"caſional advantage; the addreſs with which, "when he ſaw it neceſſary, he could make "an honourable retreat; and his ſkill in ſtating "a vote, and ſeizing the favourable moment "for ending a debate, and urging a deciſion. "He guided and governed others, without

"ſeeming

" ſeeming to aſſume any ſuperiority over them:
" and fixed and ſtrenghened his power, by often,
" in matters of form and expediency, preferring
" the opinions of thoſe with whom he acted, to
" his own. In former times, hardly any roſe up
" to ſpeak in the General Aſſembly, till called
" upon by the *Moderator*, unleſs men advanced
" in years, of high rank, or of eſtabliſhed cha-
" racters. His example and influence encou-
" raged young men of abilities to take their ſhare
" of public buſineſs; and thus deprived *Modera-*
" *tors* of an engine for preventing cauſes being
" fairly and impartially diſcuſſed. The power
" of others, who formerly had in ſome meaſure
" guided eccleſiaſtical affairs, was derived from
" miniſters of ſtate, and expired with their fall.
" His remained unhurt amidſt frequent changes
" of adminiſtration. Great men in office were
" always ready to countenance hm, to co-ope-
" rate with him, and to avail themſelves of his
" aid. But, he judged for himſelf, and ſcorned
" to be their ſlave; or to ſubmit to receive their
" inſtructions. Hence, his influence, not con-
" fined to men of mercenary views, extended to
" many of a free and independent ſpirit, who ſup-
" ported, becauſe they approved, his meaſures;
" which others, from the ſame independent ſpi-
" rit, thought it their duty ſteadily to oppoſe.

" DELIBERATE in forming his judgment, but,
" when formed, not eaſily moved to renounce it,
" he ſometimes viewed the altered plans of
" others with too ſuſpicious an eye. Hence,

 " there

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARAS

" there were able and worthy men, of whom he
" expreſſed himſelf leſs favourably, and whoſe
" latter appearances in church judicatories, he
" cenſured as inconſiſtent with principles which
" they had formerly profeſſed : while they main-
" tained, that the ſyſtem of managing church-
" affairs was changed, not their opinions or con-
" duct. Still, however, keen and determined
" oppoſition to his ſchemes of eccleſiaſtical
" policy, neither extinguiſhed his eſteem, nor
" forfeited his friendly offices, when he ſaw oppo-
" ſition carried on without rancour, and when
" he believed that it originated from conſcience
" and principle, not from perſonal animoſity, or
" envy, or ambition *."

I SHALL not preſume to add any thing in illuſtration of theſe remarks. The greater part of them relate to tranſactions of which I had no immediate knowledge, and of which I am not a competent judge; and, at any rate, no teſtimony of mine could increaſe the value of praiſe from ſo able and ſo impartial a hand. Of one quality, however, aſcribed to Dr. Robertſon by his colleague,—his ability in debate,—I may be allowed to expreſs my own opinion; as I was often led by curioſity, in my early years, to witneſs the proceedings of the court where it was principally diſplayed; and which, ſince the union of the kingdoms, is all that exiſts in Scotland, to preſerve the ſemblance of popular de-

* Diſcourſes, &c. by John Erſkine, D.D. p.271.

liberation.

liberation. This part of his fame will ſoon reſt on tradition only; but by many who are ſtill able to judge from their own recollection, I ſhall not be accuſed of exaggeration, when I ſay, that in *ſome* of the moſt eſſential qualifications of a ſpeaker, he was entitled to rank with the firſt names which have, in our times, adorned the Britiſh Senate.—Nor was the oppoſition with which he had to contend unworthy of his exertions; formidable as it long was in zeal and numbers, and aided by a combination of talents which will not eaſily be equalled; the copious and fervid declamation of *Croſbie;* the claſſical, argumentative, and commanding eloquence of *Dick;* and the powerful, though coarſe, invective of *Freebairn*, whoſe name would, in a different age, have been tranſmitted to poſterity with thoſe of the ruſtic and intrepid apoſtles who freed their country from the hierarchy of Rome *.

The characteriſtic of Dr. Robertſon's eloquence was *perſuaſion;*—mild, rational, and conciliating, yet manly and dignified. In early life, when forced as a partiſan to expoſe himſelf to the contentious heat of popular diſcuſſion, he is ſaid to have been diſtinguiſhed by promptitude and animation in repelling the attacks which he occaſionally encountered; but long before the period during which I knew him, he

* Andrew Croſbie Eſq. Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. Robert Dick, D.D. one of the Miniſters of Edinburgh. The Rev. Mr. Freebairn, Miniſter of Dunbarton. All of them died many years before Dr. Robertſon.

had become the acknowledged head of his party, and generally ſpoke laſt in the debate; reſuming the arguments on both ſides, with ſuch perſpicuity of arrangement and expreſſion; ſuch reſpect to his antagoniſts; and ſuch an air of candour and earneſtneſs in every thing he ſaid, that he often united the ſuffrages of the Houſe in favour of the concluſions he wiſhed to eſtabliſh.

His pronunciation and accents were ſtrongly marked with the peculiarities of his country; nor was this defect compenſated by the graces of his delivery. His manner, however, though deficient in eaſe, was intereſting and impreſſive; and had ſomething in its general effect, neither unſuitable to his profeſſional ſtation, nor to the particular ſtyle of his eloquence. His diction was rich and ſplendid, and abounded with the ſame beauties that characteriſe his writings.

In theſe details with reſpect to his eccleſiaſtical politics, I may perhaps be thought by ſome to have been more circumſtantial than was neceſſary; but, as he himſelf always dwelt on that ſubject with peculiar ſatisfaction, I could not paſs it over more ſlightly than I have done. Nor is it ſo foreign, as it may at firſt appear, to his character as an Hiſtorian; for, narrow and obſcure as his field of action was, it afforded him a cloſer view than moſt authors have enjoyed, of the intrigues of contending factions; and an opportunity of ſtudying, though on a ſcale comparatively ſmall, the paſſions that decide the fate of nations. In tracing, accordingly, the

ſprings

ſprings of human conduct, his ſagacity is ſtrongly impreſſed with that knowledge of the world, which experience alone can communicate; and, even in thoſe characteriſtical portraits, on which he has laviſhed all the decorations of his ſtyle, he is ſeldom if ever miſled, either by the affectation of eloquence, or of metaphyſical refinement, from a faithful adherence to truth and nature.

I WOULD willingly enlarge on his merits in a different department of his profeſſional employments, of which I am more competent to judge from perſonal knowledge, were I not afraid, that my own academical habits might lead me to attach an intereſt to what would appear of little moment to others. I ſhall therefore only remark, in general, his aſſiduous attention, amidſt his various occupations, both ſpeculative and active, to the minuteſt duties of his office as Head of the Univerſity; duties, which nothing but his habits of arrangement, and the ſevereſt œconomy of his time, could have enabled him to diſcharge with ſo little appearance of hurry or inconvenience. The valuable acceſſion of books which the public library received while under his adminiſtration, was chiefly owing to his prudent and exact application of the very ſlender funds appropriated to that eſtabliſhment; the various ſocieties, both literary and medical, which, in this place, have long contributed ſo eſſentially to the improvement of the riſing generation, were, moſt of them, either planned or reformed under his direction and patronage;

 and

and if, as a ſeat of learning, Edinburgh has, of late more than formerly, attracted the notice of the world, much muſt be aſcribed to the influence of his example, and to the luſtre of his name. The good ſenſe, temper, and addreſs, with which he preſided for thirty years in our Univerſity meetings, were attended with effects no leſs eſſential to our proſperity; and are atteſted by a fact which is perhaps without a parallel in the annals of any other literary community; that, during the whole of that period, there did not occur a ſingle queſtion which was not terminated by an unanimous deciſion.

In conſequence of the various connexions with ſociety, which aroſe from theſe profeſſional duties; and from the intereſt which he was led to take, both by his official ſituation, and the activity of his public ſpirit, in the literary or the patriotic undertakings of others *, a conſiderable portion of Dr. Robertſon's leiſure was devoted to converſation and company. No man enjoyed theſe with more reliſh; and few have poſſeſſed the ſame talents to add to their attractions.

A rich ſtock of miſcellaneous information, acquired from books and from an extenſive intercourſe with the world, together with a perfect acquaintance at all times with the topics of the day, and the ſoundeſt ſagacity and good ſenſe applied to the occurrences of common life, rendered him the moſt agreeable and inſtructive of companions. He ſeldom aimed at wit; but,

* See Appendix to the Life, Note O.

with

with his intimate friends, he often indulged a ſportive and fanciful ſpecies of humour. He delighted in good-natured, characteriſtical anecdotes of his acquaintance, and added powerfully to their effect by his own enjoyment in relating them. He was, in a remarkable degree, ſuſceptible of the ludicrous: but, on no occaſion, did he forget the dignity of his character, or the decorum of his profeſſion; nor did he even loſe ſight of that claſſical taſte which adorned his compoſitions. His turn of expreſſion was correct and pure; ſometimes, perhaps, inclining more than is expected, in the careleſſneſs of a ſocial hour, to formal and artificial periods; but it was ſtamped with his own manner no leſs than his premeditated ſtyle: it was always the language of a ſuperior and a cultivated mind, and it embelliſhed every ſubject on which he ſpoke. In the company of ſtrangers, he increaſed his exertions to amuſe and to inform; and the ſplendid variety of his converſation was commonly the chief circumſtance on which they dwelt in enumerating his talents;—and yet, I muſt acknowledge, for my own part, that much as I always admired his powers when they were thus called forth, I enjoyed his ſociety leſs, than when I ſaw him in the circle of his intimates, or in the boſom of his family.

It only now remains for me to mention his exemplary diligence in the diſcharge of his paſtoral duties; a diligence which, inſtead of relaxing as he advanced in life, became more conſpicuous,

when

when his growing infirmities withdrew him from bufinefs, and leffened the number of his active engagements. As long as his health allowed him, he preached regularly every Sunday; and he continued to do fo occafionally, till within a few months of his death.

The particular ftyle of his pulpit eloquence may be judged of from the fpecimen which has been long in the hands of the public; and it is not improbable, that the world might have been favoured with others of equal excellence, if he had not loft, before his removal from Gladf-muir, a volume of fermons which he had com-pofed with care. The facility with which he could arrange his ideas, added to the correct-nefs and fluency of his extemporary language, encouraged him to lay afide the practice of writing, excepting on extraordinary occafions; and to content himfelf, in general, with fuch fhort notes as might recal to his memory the principal topics on which he meant to enlarge. To the value, however, and utility of thefe un-premeditated fermons we have the honour-able teftimony of his learned and excellent col-league, who heard him preach every week for more than twenty years. "His difcourfes from "this place," fays Dr. Erfkine, "were fo "plain, that the moft illiterate might eafily "underftand them, and yet fo correct and ele-"gant that they could not incur their cenfure, "whofe tafte was more refined. For feveral "years before his death, he feldom wrote his "fermons fully, or exactly committed his older "fermons

"sermons to memory; though, had I not "learned this from himself, I should not have "suspected it; such was the variety and fitness "of his illustrations, the accuracy of his method, "and the propriety of his style."

His health began apparently to decline in the end of the year 1791. Till then, it had been more uniformly good than might have been expected from his studious habits; but, about this period, he suddenly discovered strong symptoms of jaundice, which gradually undermined his constitution, and terminated at length in a lingering and fatal illness. He had the prospect of death long before him; a prospect deeply afflicting to his family and his friends; but of which, without any visible abatement in his spirits, he happily availed himself, to adorn the doctrines which he had long taught, by an example of fortitude and of Christian resignation. In the concluding stage of his disorder, he removed from Edinburgh to *Grange House* in the neighbourhood, where he had the advantage of a freer air, and a more quiet situation, and (what he valued more than most men) the pleasure of rural objects, and of a beautiful landscape. While he was able to walk abroad, he commonly passed a part of the day in a small garden, enjoying the simple gratifications it afforded with all his wonted relish. Some who now hear me will long remember,—among the trivial yet interesting incidents which marked these last weeks of his memorable life,—his daily

daily visits to the fruit-trees (which were then in blossom), and the smile with which he, more than once, contrasted the interest he took in their progress, with the event which was to happen before their maturity. At his particular desire, I saw him (for the last time) on the 4th of June 1793, when his weakness confined him to his couch, and his articulation was already beginning to fail: and it is in obedience to a request with which he then honoured me, that I have ventured, without consulting my own powers, to offer this tribute to his memory. He died on the 11th of the same month, in the 71st year of his age.

I HAVE already hinted at his domestic happiness. Nothing was wanting to render it perfect while he lived; and, at his death, he had the satisfaction to leave, in prosperous circumstances, a numerous family, united to each other and to their excellent mother by the tenderest affection. His eldest son, an eminent lawyer at the Scotch bar, has been only prevented by the engagements of an active profession, from sustaining his father's literary name; while his two younger sons, both of whom very early embraced a military life, have carried his vigour and enterprize into a different career of ambition.* His eldest daughter is married to Mr. Brydone, the well-known author of one of our most elegant and popular books of Travels.

* See Appendix to the Life, Note P.

Another

Another is the widow of the late John Ruſſel Eſq. Clerk to the Signet, and one of the members of this Society.

THE general view which has been already given of Dr. Robertſon's occupations and habits, ſuperſedes the neceſſity of attempting a formal delineation of his character. To the particulars, however, which have been incidentally mentioned in the courſe of this biographical ſketch, it may not be unimportant to add, that the ſame ſagacity and good ſenſe, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed him as a Writer, guided his conduct in life, and rendered his counſels of ineſtimable value to his friends. He was not forward in offering advice, but when conſulted, as he was very frequently, by his younger acquaintance, he entered into their concerns with the moſt lively intereſt, and ſeemed to have a pleaſure and a pride in imparting to them all the lights of his experience and wiſdom. Good ſenſe was indeed the moſt prominent feature in his intellectual character; and it is unqueſtionably, of all the qualities of the underſtanding, that which eſſentially conſtitutes ſuperiority of mind: for, although we are ſometimes apt to appropriate the appellation of genius to certain peculiarities in the intellectual habits, it is he only who diſtinguiſhes himſelf from the reſt of mankind, by thinking better than they on the ſame ſubject, who fairly brings his powers into compariſon with others. This was in a remarkable degree the caſe with Dr. Robertſon. He was not eminent for metaphyſical

acuteneſs; nor did he eaſily enter into ſpeculations involving mathematical or mechanical ideas; but, in thoſe endowments which lay the foundation of ſucceſsful conduct, and which fit a man to acquire an influence over others, he had no ſuperior. Among thoſe who have, like him, devoted the greater part of life to ſtudy, perhaps it would be difficult to find his equal.

His practical acquaintance with human nature was great, and he poſſeſſed the ſoundeſt and moſt accurate notions of the characters of thoſe with whom he was accuſtomed to aſſociate. In that quick penetration, indeed, which reads the ſoul, and eſtimates the talents of others by a ſort of intuition, he was ſurpaſſed by many; and I have often known him miſled by firſt impreſſions: but where he had an opportunity of continuing his obſervations for a length of time, he ſeldom failed in forming concluſions equally juſt, refined, and profound. In a general knowledge of the world, and of the ways of men, his ſuperiority was ſtriking and indiſputable; ſtill more ſo, in my opinion, than in the judgments he formed of individuals. Nor is this ſurpriſing, when we conſider the joint influence of his habits as an hiſtorian, and as a political leader.

Too much cannot be ſaid of his moral qualities. Exemplary and amiable in the offices of private life, he exhibited, in his public conduct, a rare union of political firmneſs with candour and moderation.—“ He enjoyed,” ſays Dr. Erſkine, “ the bounties of Providence without running “ into riot; was temperate without auſterity;

"condeſcending and affable without meanneſs; "and in expence neither ſordid nor prodigal. "He could feel an injury, and yet bridle his "paſſion; was grave, not ſullen; ſteady, not "obſtinate; friendly, not officious; prudent "and cautious, not timid." — The praiſe is liberal; and it is expreſſed with the cordial warmth of friendſhip; but it comes from one who had the beſt opportunity of knowing the truth, as he had enjoyed Dr. Robertſon's intimacy from his childhood, and was afterwards, for more than twenty years, his colleague in the ſame church; while his zealous attachment to a different ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical government, though it never impaired his affection for the companion of his youth, exempts him from any ſuſpicion of undue partiality.

In point of ſtature Dr. Robertſon was rather above the middle ſize; and his form, though it did not convey the idea of much activity, announced vigour of body and a healthful conſtitution. His features were regular and manly; and his eye ſpoke at once good-ſenſe and good-humour. He appeared to greateſt advantage in his complete clerical dreſs; and was more remarkable for gravity and dignity in diſcharging the functions of his public ſtations, than for eaſe or grace in private ſociety. His portrait by Reynolds, painted about twenty years ago, is an admirable likeneſs; and fortunately, (for the colours are already much faded,) all its ſpirit is preſerved in an excellent mezzotinto. At the requeſt of his colleagues in the Univer-

ſity,

ſity*, who were anxious to have ſome memorial of him placed in the public library, he ſat again, a few months before his death, to Mr. Raeburn; at a time when his altered and ſickly aſpect rendered the taſk of the artiſt peculiarly difficult. The picture, however, is not only worthy, in every reſpect, of Mr. Raeburn's high and deſerved reputation, but to thoſe who were accuſtomed to ſee Dr. Robertſon at this intereſting period, derives an additional value from an air of languor and feebleneſs, which ſtrongly marked his appearance during his long decline.

I SHOULD feel myſelf happy, if, in concluding this memoir, I could indulge the hope, that it may be the means of completing and finiſhing that picture which his writings exhibit of his mind. In attempting to delineate its characteriſtic features, I have certainly poſſeſſed one advantage;—that I had long an opportunity of knowing and ſtudying the original; and that my portrait, ſuch as it is, is correctly copied from my own impreſſions. I am ſenſible, at the ſame time, that much more might have been accompliſhed by a writer whoſe purſuits were more congenial that mine to Dr. Robertſon's: nor would any thing have induced me to depart, ſo far as I have now done, from the ordinary courſe of my own ſtudies, but my reſpect for the laſt wiſh of a much lamented friend, expreſſed at a moment when nothing remained for me but ſilent acquieſcence.

* See Appendix to the Life, Note Q.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. p. 10.

THE information contained in the following note, (for which I am indebted to the friendſhip of Dr. Carlyle,) cannot fail to be acceptable to thoſe, to whom the Literary Hiſtory of Scotland is an object of curioſity.

" THE *Select Society* owed its riſe to the ingenious Allan " Ramſay, (ſon of the Poet of that name,) and was intended " for Philoſophical Inquiry, and the improvement of the " Members in the Art of Speaking. They met for the " firſt time in the Advocates' Library, in May 1754, and " conſiſted only of fifteen, who had been nominated and " called together by Mr. Ramſay and two or three of his " friends. At that meeting they formed themſelves into " a ſociety, into which the Members were ever after " elected by ballot, and who met regularly every Friday " evening, during the ſittings of the Court of Seſſion, " both in ſummer and winter.

" THIS Society continued to flouriſh for ſeveral years, " and became ſo faſhionable, that, in 1759, their number " amounted to more than 130; which included all the " *Literati* of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, and many " of the Nobility and Gentry, who, though a few of them " only took any ſhare in the debates, thought themſelves " ſo well entertained, and inſtructed, that they gave " punctual attendance. In this Society, which remained " in vigour for ſix or ſeven years, Dr. Robertſon made a " conſpicuous figure. By his means it was, and by the " appearances made by a few of his brethren, that a new " luſtre was thrown on their order. From the Revolu- " tion, (when the Church had been chiefly filled with in-

" cumbents that were ill-educated,) down to this period, " the Clergy of the Eftablifhed Church had always been " confidered in a fubordinate light, and as far inferior to " the Members of the other learned Profeffions, in know- " ledge and liberal views. But now, when compared " together, on this theatre for the exhibition of talents, " they were found to be entitled to at leaft an equal fhare " of praife; and having been long depreffed, they were, " in compenfation, as ufual, raifed full as high as they " deferved. When the Select Society commenced, it " was not forefeen that the Hiftory of Scotland during " the reign of Mary, the Tragedy of Douglas, and the " Epigoniad, were to iffue fo foon from three Gentlemen " of the Ecclefiaftical Order.

" When the Society was on the decline, by the avo- " cations of many of its moft diftinguifhed members, and " the natural abatement of that ardor which is excited by " novelty and emulation, it was thought proper to elect " fixed prefidents to prefide in their turns, whofe duty it " was to open the queftion to be debated upon, that a " fair field might be laid before the Speakers. It was " obferved of Dr. Robertfon, who was one of thofe Pre- " fidents, that whereas moft of the others in their previous " difcourfes exhaufted the fubject fo much that there was " no room for debate, he gave only fuch brief, but artful " fketches, as ferved to fuggeft ideas, without leading to " a decifion.

" Among the moft diftinguifhed Speakers in the Select " Society were Sir Gilbert Elliott, Mr. Wedderburn, " Mr. Andrew Pringle, Lord Kaims, Mr. Walter Stewart, " Lord Elibank, and Dr. Robertfon. The Honourable " Charles Townfhend fpoke once. David Hume and " Adam Smith never opened their lips.

" The Society was alfo much obliged to Dr. Alexan- " der Monro, Senior, Sir Alexander Dick, and Mr. " Patrick Murray, Advocate, who, by their conftant at-

" tendance and readineſs on every ſubject, ſupported the " debate during the firſt year of the eſtabliſhment, when " otherwiſe it would have gone heavily on. The ſame " part was afterwards more ably performed by Lord " Monboddo, Lord Elibank, and the Reverend William " Wilkie, all of whom had the peculiar talent of ſup- " porting their paradoxical talents by an inexhauſtible " fund of humour and argument."

A PRINTED Liſt of the Members having been accidentally preſerved by Dr. Carlyle, I need make no apology for giving it a place in this Appendix, as a memorial of the ſtate of Literary Society in Edinburgh, forty years ago.

LIST of the MEMBERS of the SELECT SOCIETY, 17th October, 1759.

Rev. John Jardine, Miniſter in Edinburgh.
Francis Home, M. D.
Adam Smith, Profeſſor of Ethics at Glaſgow.
Alex. Wedderburn (now Lord Chancellor).
Allan Ramſay (afterwards Painter to His Majeſty).
James Burnet, Advocate (afterwards Lord Monboddo).
John Campbell, Advocate (now Lord Stonefield).
Rev. Alex. Carlyle, Miniſter at Intereſk.
William Johnſton, Advocate (now Sir William Pulteney).
James Stevenſon Rogers, Advocate.
David Hume.
John Swinton, Advocate (afterwards Lord Swinton).
Patrick Murray, Advocate.
Patrick Hume of Billy, Advocate.
Alex. Stevenſon, M. D.
Walter Stewart, Advocate.
John Home (Author of Douglas).
Robert Alexander, Merchant.
James Ruſſel (afterwards Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy).
George Cockburn, Advocate.
David Clerk, M. D.
George Brown (Lord Colſton).
Rev. Will. Robertſon, Miniſter in Edinburgh.
John Fletcher (now General Fletcher Campbell).
Alex. Agnew, Advocate.
John Hope, M. D.
Sir David Dalrymple, Advocate (afterwards Lord Hailes).

Gilbert

Gilbert Elliot, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.
Sir Harry Erſkine, Bart.
Rev. Hugh Blair, one of the Miniſters of Edinburgh.
Andrew Stewart (now M. P. for Weymouth).
Charles Fyſch Palmer.
George Morriſon, Advocate.
Andrew Pringle (Lord Aylmoor).
Alex. Monro, Sen. M. D.
David Roſs, Advocate (now Lord Ankerville).
Right Hon. Patrick Lord Elibank.
Earl of Glaſgow.
Sir Alex. Dick, Bart.
Robert Arbuthnot (now Secretary to the Board of Truſtees for Manufactures, &c.)
Adam Fairholme, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Major James Edmonſtone.
Charles Hamilton Gordon, Advocate.
James Ferguſſon of Pitfour, Jun. Advocate.
David Kennedy, Advocate (afterwards Earl of Caſſils).
John Dalrymple, Advocate (now Baron of Exchequer).
Major Robert Murray (afterwards Sir Robert Murray).
Rev. Rob. Wallace, Miniſter in Edinburgh.
John Gordon, Advocate.
Alex. Maxwell, Merchant in Edinburgh.
John Coutts, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Will. Todd, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Tho. Millar (afterwards Preſident of the Court of Seſſion).
Robert Chalmers.
Mr. Baron Grant.
Captain James Stewart.
Sir John Stewart, Advocate.
James Guthrie, Merchant.
Charles Congalton, Surgeon in Edinburgh.
Rev. Will. Wilkie, Miniſter at Ratho.
John Monro, Advocate.
Captain Robert Douglas.
Alex. Tait, Writer in Edinburgh.
George Chalmers, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Colonel Oughton (afterwards Sir Adolphus Oughton).
John Adam, Architect.
Robert White, M. D.
Henry Home (Lord Kaims).
James Montgomery, Advocate (now Chief Baron of Exchequer).
David Dalrymple, Advocate (afterwards Lord Weſthall).
Rev. George Kay, Miniſter in Edinburgh.
George Muir, Clerk of Juſticiary.
George Clerk (afterwards Sir George Clerk).

Lieut.

Lieut. Col. Archibald Montgomery (afterwards Earl of Eglinton).
Right Honourable Lord Deskfoord.
Robert Berry, Advocate.
Adam Austin, M. D.
Lieut. Col. Morgan.
George Drummond (Lord Provost of Edinburgh).
The Earl of Lauderdale.
Alex. Boswell (Lord Auchinleck).
Alex. Udney, Commissioner of Excise.
Rev. George Wishart, Minister in Edinburgh.
Right Honourable Lord Belhaven.
Francis Garden, Advocate (afterwards Lord Gardenstone.)
David Rae, Advocate (now Lord Justice Clerk).
Mansfield Cardonnel, Commissioner of Excise.
Right Hon. Lord Aberdour.
John Murray of Philiphaugh, Advocate.
Will. Tytler, Writer to the Signet (Author of the Vindication of Q. Mary).
Colin Drummond, M. D.
Robert Dundas (afterwards President of the Court of Session).
Stamp Brooksbanks.
Wm. Nairne, Advocate (now Lord Dunsinan).
James Adam, Architect.
Captain Charles Erskine.
Hugh Dalrymple, Advocate (Author of Rodondo).
James Hay, Surgeon.
Mr. Baron. Erskine (afterwards Lord Alva).
John Clerk (Author of Naval Tactics).
John Mac Gowan, Jun. Writer in Edinburgh.
Earl of Galloway.
John Graham of Dougaldston.
James Carmichael, Writer to the Signet.
Adam Fergusson (afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy).
George Drummond of Blair.
Will. Cullen, M. D.
Ilay Campbell, Advocate, (now President of the Court of Session).
Alex. Murray, Advocate (afterwards Lord Henderland).
Rev. Robert Dick.
Right Honourable Lord Gray.
Earl of Errol.
James Dewar, Advocate.
Captain David Wedderburn.
Major James Dalrymple.
Archibald Hamilton, M. D.
Andrew Cheap.
Andrew Crosbie, Advocate.
Earl of Aboyne.
Adam Fergusson, Advocate (now Sir Adam Fergusson).
Earl of Selkirk.

John

John Turton.
Cofmo Gordon (afterwards one of the Barons of Exchequer).
Right Honourable Lord Gairlies.
Earl of Sutherland.
Captain Dougald Campbell.
Honourable George Ramfay, Advocate.
Earl of Rofeberry.
Earl of Caffils.
William Graham, Advocate.
John Pringle of Crichton.
Right Hon. Cha. Townfhend.
George Wallace.

NOTE B. p. 19.

From WILLIAM STRAHAN, *Efq.* *to* DR. ROBERTSON.

Rev. Sir, London, Feb. 28, 1759.

WHEN I received your farewell letter on the conclufion of your Hiftory, I was determined not to anfwer it till I could tell you, with certainty, and from my own perfonal knowledge, what reception it met with in this place. And what I am going to tell you, I dare fay you have had from many of your friends, long ago. No matter for that. Every man, and efpecially one in my way, has an opportunity to hear the public fentiments through many different channels. I have now waited till I could be fully informed; and as I have been particularly folicitous to procure authentic intelligence, you will not be difpleafed at my confirming what you have heard before, as we love to fee a piece of good news in the Gazette (excufe the vanity of the comparifon) even though we have read it a month before in all the other papers.—I don't remember to have heard any book fo univerfally approved by the beft judges, for what are fold yet, have been only to fuch. The people in the country know nothing of it, unlefs from the advertifements; and *a Hiftory of Scotland* is no very enticing title.—But many of the firft diftinction in town have perufed it with great fatisfaction. They wonder how a Scotch parfon, and who had never been out of Scotland, could be able to write in fo correct, fo clear, fo manly, and fo nervous

nervous a ſtyle. The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, in particular, prefers the ſtyle to that of Bolingbroke, and every body that I have either ſeen or heard of, think it one of the very beſt performances that has been exhibited for many years. As theſe are not ſuperficial judges you may be aſſured that the fame you have acquired will be permanent, and not only permanent, but extending daily. Next week you will ſee ſome extracts from it in the Chronicle, which will ſerve to give the people at a diſtance from town ſome idea of its excellence; but without that, or any thing elſe, the report of thoſe who have read it in London, will ſoon ſpread its reputation; for the capital always gives the lead this way as well as in moſt other caſes. The impreſſion, therefore, certainly will be gone before another can be got ready. Mr. Millar has wrote to you already about reviſing it for another edition, and I think the ſooner you ſend up ſome of the ſheets, the better, that no time may be loſt. Does not this anſwer your moſt ſanguine expectations? For indeed, a more favourable reception could not be hoped for. I moſt ſincerely wiſh you joy of your ſucceſs, and have not the leaſt doubt but it will have all the good effects upon your future fortune which you could poſſibly hope for, or expect. Much depended upon the firſt performance; that trial is now happily over, and henceforth you will ſail with a favourable gale. In truth, to acquire ſuch a flood of reputation from writing on a ſubject in itſelf ſo unpopular in this country, is neither a common, nor a contemptible conqueſt.—I will not trouble you more on a ſubject of which you muſt needs have heard a great deal from hence lately. I rejoice in your good fortune, and am with much eſteem and ſincerity, Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

WILL. STRAHAN.

THE following Letter from Mr. Strahan's ſon, forms an intereſting counterpart to the foregoing article:

L 4 *From*

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

From ANDREW STRAHAN, *Esq. to* DR. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, London, 19th November, 1792.

BEING at the sea-side in Sussex, when I received your favour of the 26th ult. I have had no opportunity till now of acknowledging it, and at the same time informing myself of the state of the Edition, so as to answer your question.

MR. CADELL (who is now with me, and who desires to be affectionately remembered) is of opinion with me, that we should take the ensuing season of ships sailing to India to reduce the quartos.—But we will print an edition in octavo, next summer, whatever may then be the state of the former, and we will thank you for a correct copy at your leisure.

THE fourteenth Edition of your "*Scotland*" will be published in the course of the winter, during which it is our intention to advertise all your works strongly in all the papers.—And we have the satisfaction of informing you, that if we may judge by the sale of your writings, your literary reputation is daily increasing.

I am, with much esteem, &c.

NOTE C. p. 24.

THE praise contained in the following letter, (though less profusely bestowed than by some other of Dr. Robertson's correspondents,) will not appear of small value to those who are acquainted with the character of the writer, and with his accurate researches into the antiquities of Scotland.

From SIR DAVID DALRYMPLE *to* DR. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, Edinburgh, 20th Feb. 1776.

I AM very happy in your favourable acceptance of the Annals of Scotland. Even your opinion is not enough to make me think of going beyond the Restoration of James I. Your Sketch of the History from that time to the death of James V. is of itself sufficient to deter me. It is very possible

poſſible that in your delineation of the hiſtory of the five Jameſes, there may be errors and omiſſions, but you have drawn all the characters with ſuch hiſtorical truth, that if I were to work on the ſame ground, I might ſpoil and over-charge the canvas; at the ſame time, the reader would not ſee himſelf in a ſtrange country—every object would be familiar to him. There is another reaſon, and that is a political one, for my ſtopping ſhort. Many readers might take it for granted that I would write disfavourably of the Stewarts, from prejudice of education or family. Other readers might ſuſpect my impartiality, and thus, there would be little proſpect of my being favourably heard. If I have health to finiſh my plan, I propoſe to go back into the laws of Scotland. *That* is a work of which I muſt not loſe ſight, after I have laboured ſo long upon it*.

I SEND you a book which I have re-publiſhed, and beg your acceptance of it. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient

and obliged humble ſervant,

DAV. DALRYMPLE.

THE following Letters, which have been kindly communicated to me by a friend of Lord Hailes, aſcertain ſome important dates with reſpect to the progreſs of Dr. Robertſon's ſtudies:

Dr. ROBERTSON *to* Lord HAILES.

Sir, Gladſmuir, 22d Oct. 1753.

I INTEND to employ ſome of the idle time of this winter in making a more diligent enquiry than ever I have done

* It is much to be regretted that the work here alluded to by Lord Hailes was never carried into complete execution. The fragments, however, of ſuch a writer relative to a ſubject on which he had ſo long beſtowed attention, could not fail to be of great value; and it is to be hoped that they will one day be communicated to the public.

done into that period of Scots Hiſtory from the death of King James V. to the death of Queen Mary. I have the more common hiſtories of that time, ſuch as Buchanan, Spottiſwood, and Knox, but there are ſeveral collections of papers by Anderſon, Jebb, Forbes, and others, which I know not how to come at. I am perſuaded you have moſt of theſe books in your library, and I flatter myſelf you will be ſo good as to allow me the uſe of them. You know better what books to ſend me, and what will be neceſſary to give any light to this part of the hiſtory, than I do what to aſk, and therefore I leave the particular books to your own choice, which you'll pleaſe order to be given to my ſervant. Whatever you ſend me, ſhall be uſed with much care, and returned with great punctuality.—I beg you may forgive this trouble. I am with great reſpect, &c.

Dr. Robertson *to* Lord Hailes.

Sir, Gladſmuir, 26th July, 1757.

I HAVE now got forward to the year 1660, and as it will be impoſſible for me to ſteer through Gowrie's conſpiracy without your guidance, I muſt take advantage of the friendly offer you was pleaſed to make me, and apply to you for ſuch books and papers as you think to be neceſſary for my purpoſe.—I would wiſh to give an accurate and rational account of the matter, but not very minute. I have in my poſſeſſion Calderwood's MSS. and all the common printed hiſtories; but I have neither Lord Cromarty's account, nor any other piece particularly relative to the conſpiracy. I beg you may ſupply me with as many as you can, and direct me to any thing you think may be uſeful. The papers you are pleaſed to communicate to me, ſhall be ſhewn to no human creature, and no farther uſe ſhall be made of them than you permit. My ſervant will take great care of whatever books or papers you give him. I need not ſay how ſenſible I am of the

good

good will with which you are pleaſed to inſtruct me in this curious point of hiſtory, nor how much I expect to profit by it. I ever am, &c.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to* Lord HAILES.

Sir, Edinburgh, 8th Nov. 1758.

I HAVE taken the liberty to ſend you incloſed a Preface to my book, which I have juſt now written. I find it very difficult for a man to ſpeak of himſelf with any decency through three or four pages. Unluckily I have been obliged to write it in the utmoſt hurry, as Strahan is clamouring for it. I think it was neceſſary to ſay all in it that I have ſaid, and yet it looks too like a puff. I ſend it to you, not only that you may do me the favour to correct any inaccuracies in the compoſition, but becauſe there is a paragraph in it which I would not preſume to publiſh without your permiſſion, though I have taken care to word it ſo modeſtly that a man might have ſaid it of himſelf. As I muſt ſend off the Preface by to-morrow's poſt, I muſt beg the favour that you will return it with your remarks to-morrow morning. I would wiſh, if poſſible, that I had time to ſhew it to Blair. I am, with great reſpect, &c.

THE Letters which follow, (although written many years afterwards,) may, without impropriety, be introduced here, as they all relate, more or leſs, to the Hiſtory of Scotland.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to* Lord HAILES.

My Lord, College, Feb. 10, 1776.

I HOPE Your Lordſhip will forgive me for having deferred ſo long to return you my beſt thanks for the very acceptable preſent which you were pleaſed to ſend me. Previous to doing this, I wiſhed to have the ſatisfaction of peruſing the Annals again, and the opinion I had formed

formed of their merit, is in no degree diminiſhed by an attentive review of them in their preſent dreſs.

You have given authenticity and order to a period of our Hiſtory, which has hitherto been deſtitute of both, and a Scotchman has now the pleaſure of being able to pronounce what is true, and what is fabulous, in the early part of our national ſtory. As I have no doubt with reſpect to the reception which this part of the Annals, though perhaps the leaſt intereſting, will meet with, I flatter myſelf that Your Lordſhip will go on with the work. Allow me, on the public account, to hope that you have not fixed *the Acceſſion of James I.* as an impaſſable boundary beyond which you are not to advance. It is at that period, the more intereſting age of our hiſtory commences. From thence the regular ſeries of our laws begins. During the reign of the Jameſes, many things ſtill require the inveſtigation of ſuch an accurate and patient enquirer as Your Lordſhip. I hope that what I have done in my review of that period, will be no reſtraint on Your Lordſhip in entering upon that field. My view of it was a general one, that did not require the minute accuracy of a chronological reſearch, and if you diſcover either omiſſions or miſtakes in it, (and I dare ſay you will diſcover both,) I have no objection to your ſupplying the one and correcting the other. Your ſtrictures on me will not be made with a hoſtile hand, and I had much rather that theſe were made, than be deprived of the advantage that I ſhall reap from your completing your work. As far as I can judge by the opinion of thoſe with whom I converſe, the public wiſh is, that you ſhould continue your Annals at leaſt to the death of James V. I moſt heartily join my voice to this general deſire, and wiſh you health to go on with what will be ſo much for the honour of your country. I am, with great truth and reſpect, My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient
and moſt humble ſervant,

Dr. Robertson *to* Lord Hailes.

My Lord, College, March 13th, 1786.

WHEN I took the liberty of applying to Your Lordſhip laſt week, I unluckily did not advert to the hurry of buſineſs during the laſt week of the Seſſion. In compliance with your requeſt, I ſhall, without preamble or apology, mention what induced me to trouble Your Lordſhip.

I am now in the twenty-eighth year of my authorſhip, and the proprietors of the Hiſtory of Scotland purpoſe to end the ſecond fourteen years of their copyright ſplendidly, by publiſhing two new editions of that Book, one in quarto, and another in octavo. This has induced me to make a general review of the whole work, and to avail myſelf both of the remarks of my friends, and the ſtrictures of thoſe who differ from me in opinion. I mean not to take the field as a controverſial writer or to ſtate myſelf in oppoſition to any antagoniſt. Wherever I am ſatisfied that I have fallen into errors, I ſhall quietly, and without reluctance, correct it. Wherever I think my ſentiments right and well eſtabliſhed, they ſhall ſtand.—In ſome few places, I ſhall illuſtrate what I have written, by materials and facts which I have diſcovered ſince the firſt publication of my book. Theſe additions will not, I hope, be very bulky, but they will contribute, as I imagine, to throw light on ſeveral events which have been miſtaken, or miſrepreſented. I ſhall take care, on account of the purchaſers of former editions, that all the additions and alterations of any importance ſhall be publiſhed ſeparately, both in quarto and octavo.

As I know how thoroughly Your Lordſhip is acquainted with every tranſaction in Q. Mary's reign, and with how much accuracy you are accuſtomed to examine hiſtorical facts, it was my intention to have requeſted of you, that if any error or omiſſion in my book had occurred to you in the peruſal of it, you would be ſo obliging as to communicate your ſentiments to me. I ſhall certainly receive ſuch com-

communications with much attention and gratitude.— You have ſet me right with reſpect to the act 19th April, 1567, but I think that I can ſatisfy Your Lordſhip that it was eſteemed in that age, and was really a conceſſion of greater importance to the reformed than you ſeem to apprehend. I beg leave to deſire that, if you have any remarks to communicate they may be ſent ſoon, as the Bookſellers are impatient. I truſt Your Lordſhip will pardon the liberty I have taken. I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant.

Dr. Robertson *to* Lord Hailes.

College of Edinburgh,
March 20, 1786.

My Lord,

I CONSIDER it as an unfortunate accident for me, that Your Lordſhip happened to be ſo much pre-occupied at the time when I took the liberty of applying to you. I return you thanks for the communication of your notes on the acts of parliament. Beſides the entertainment and inſtruction I received from the peruſal of them, I found ſome things of uſe to me, and I have availed myſelf of the permiſſion you was pleaſed to give me.

I mentioned to Your Lordſhip that I differed little from you about the effect of the act, April 19, 1567. I incloſe a copy both of the *text*, corrected as I intended to publiſh it in the new edition, and of a note which I ſhall add to explain my idea of the import of the act. I requeſt of Your Lordſhip to peruſe it, and if in any part it meets not with your approbation, be ſo good as to let me know. Pleaſe to return it as ſoon as you can, that I may communicate it, and any other additions and alterations, to Mr. Davidſon, who has promiſed to reviſe them.

In 1776 Your Lordſhip publiſhed the Secret Correſpondence of Sir R. Cecil with James VI. I have not a copy of it, and have been unſucceſsful in my application

for one to ſome of my friends. If you have a copy, and will be ſo good as to allow me the uſe of it, I ſhall return it with the greateſt care, as I do herewith the notes I received from Your Lordſhip. I have attended to the notes in Bannatyne's poems. I have the Hamilton MSS. in three volumes folio. They are curious.

I have the honour to be, &c.

I SHALL ſubjoin ſome extracts from Mr. Hume's letters to Dr. Robertſon, written about this period, and a few other paſſages from different correſpondents. They ſeem to me worthy of preſervation, although the extraneous matter they contain render it impoſſible for me to incorporate them with my Narrative.

Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

London, Liſle Street,
18th Nov. 1758.

My dear Sir,

ACCORDING to your permiſſion I have always got your corrected ſheets from Strahan; and am glad to find, that we ſhall agree in almoſt all the material parts of our Hiſtory. Your reſolution to aſſert the authenticity of Mary's letter to Bothwell, with the conſequence which muſt neceſſarily follow, removes the chief point, in which, I apprehend, we ſhall differ. There remain however two other points where I have not the good fortune to agree with you, *viz.* The violation of the treaty of Perth by Mary of Guiſe, and the innocency of Mary with regard to Babington's conſpiracy: but as I had written notes upon theſe paſſages, the public muſt judge between us. Only allow me to ſay, that even if you be in the right with regard to the laſt, (of which, notwithſtanding my deference to your authority, I cannot perceive the leaſt appearance,) you are certainly too ſhort and abrupt in handling

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARAS...

handling it. I believe you go contrary to received opinion; and the point was of confequence enough to merit a note or a differtation.

There is ftill another point in which we differ, and which reduced me to great perplexity. You told me, that all hiftorians had been miftaken with regard to James's behaviour on his mother's trial and execution; that he was not really the pious fon he pretended to be; that the appearances which deceived the world, were put on at the folicitation of the French ambaffador, Courcelles; and that I fhould find all this proved by a manufcript of Dr. Campbell's. I accordingly fpoke of the matter to Dr. Campbell, who confirmed what you faid, with many additions and amplifications. I defired to have the manufcript, which he fent me. But great was my furprize, when I found the contrary in every page, many praifes beftowed on the King's piety both by Courcelles and the French court; his real grief and refentment painted in the ftrongeft colours; refolutions even taken by him to form an alliance with Philip of Spain, in order to get revenge; repeated advices given him by Courcelles and the French minifters, rather to conceal his refentment, till a proper opportunity offered of taking vengeance. What moft difpleafed me in this affair was, that as I thought myfelf obliged to follow the ordinary tenor of the printed hiftorian, while you appealed to manufcript, it would be neceffary for me to appeal to the fame manufcripts, to give extracts of them, and to oppofe your conclufions. Though I know that I could execute this matter in a friendly and obliging manner for you, yet I own that I was very uneafy at finding myfelf under a neceffity of obferving any thing which might appear a miftake in your narration. But there came to me a man this morning, who, as I fancy, gave me the key of the difficulty, but without freeing me from my perplexity. This was a man commonly employed by Millar and Strahan to decypher manufcripts,

manuſcripts. He brought me a letter of yours to Strahan, where you deſired him to apply to me in order to point out the paſſages proper to be inſerted in your Appendix, and proper to prove the aſſertion of your text. You add there, theſe letters are in the French language. I immediately concluded that you had not read the manuſcripts, but had taken it on Mr. Campbell's word: for the letters are in Engliſh tranſlated by I know not whom from the French. I could do nothing on this occaſion but deſire Strahan to ſtop the preſs in printing the Appendix, and ſtay till I wrote to you. If I could perſuade you to change the narration of the text, that ſheet could be eaſily cancelled, and an Appendix formed proper to confirm an oppoſite account. If you ſtill perſiſt in your opinion, ſomebody elſe whom you truſted, might be employed to find the proper paſſages; for I cannot find them.

There is only one paſſage which looks like your opinion, and which I ſhall tranſcribe to you. It is a relation of what paſſed between James and Courcelles upon the firſt rumour of the diſcovery of Babington's conſpiracy, before James apprehended his mother to be in any danger. "The "King ſaid he loved his mother as much as nature and "duty bound; but he could not love her : "For he knew well ſhe bore him no more good-will than "ſhe did to the Queen of England: That he had ſeen "with his own eyes, before Foulnaye's departure out of "Scotland, a letter to him, whereby ſhe ſent him word, "that if he would not conform himſelf to her will, and "follow her counſels and advice, that he ſhould content "himſelf with the lordſhip of Darnley, which was all that "appertained unto him by his father: Farther, that he "had ſeen other letters under her own hand, confirming "her evil towards him: Beſides, that ſhe had oftentimes "gone about to make a regency in Scotland, and to put "him beſides the crown; that it behoved him to think of "his own affairs, and that he thought the Queen of Eng-

" land would attempt nothing againſt her perſon without " making him acquainted: That his mother was hence- " forward to carry herſelf both towards him and the Queen " of England after another ſort, without bending any " more upon ſuch practices and intelligences as ſhe had " in former times: That he hoped to ſet ſuch perſons " about her as" (Here the manuſcript is not farther legi- " ble.) But though ſuch were James's ſentiments before he apprehended his mother to be in danger, he adopted a directly oppoſite conduct afterwards, as I told you. I can only expreſs my wiſhes that you may ſee reaſon to conform your narrative in vol. ii. p. 139, 140. to this account, or omit that Appendix altogether, or find ſome other perſon who can better execute your intentions than it is poſſible for me do.

Mr. Hume *to* Dr. Robertson.

My dear Sir, 25th January, 1759.

WHAT I wrote you with regard to Mary's concurrence in the conſpiracy againſt Queen Elizabeth, was from the printed hiſtories of papers; and nothing ever appeared to me more evident. Your chief objection, I ſee, is derived from one circumſtance, that neither the ſecretaries nor conſpirators were confronted with Mary; but you muſt conſider that the law did not then require this confrontation, and it was in no caſe the practice. The crown could not well grant it in one caſe without granting it in all, becauſe the refuſing of it would then have been a ſtrong preſumption of innocence in the priſoner. Yet as Mary's was an extraordinary caſe, Elizabeth was willing to have granted it. I find in Forbes's MS. papers, ſent me by Lord Royſton, a letter of hers to Burleigh and Walſingham, wherein ſhe tells them, that, if they thought proper they might carry down the two ſecretaries to Fotheringay, in order to confront them with her. But they reply, that they think it needleſs.

BUT

But I am now ſorry to tell you, that by Murden's State Papers, which are printed, the matter is put beyond all queſtion. I got theſe papers during the holidays by Dr. Birch's means; and as ſoon as I had read them, I ran to Millar, and deſired him very earneſtly to ſtop the publication of your Hiſtory till I ſhould write to you, and give you an opportunity of correcting a miſtake of ſo great moment; but he abſolutely refuſed compliance. He ſaid that your book was now finiſhed, that the copies would be ſhipped for Scotland in two days, that the whole narration of Mary's trial muſt be wrote over again; that this would require time, and it was uncertain whether the new narrative could be brought within the ſame compaſs with the old; that this change, he ſaid, would require the cancelling a great many ſheets; that there were ſcattered paſſages through the volumes founded on your theory, and theſe muſt alſo be all cancelled, and that this change required the new printing of a great part of the edition. For theſe reaſons, which do not want force, he refuſed, after deliberation, to ſtop his publication, and I was obliged to acquieſce. Your beſt apology at preſent is, that you could not poſſibly ſee the grounds of Mary's guilt, and every equitable perſon will excuſe you.

I am ſorry, on many accounts, that you did not ſee this Collection of Murden's. Among other curioſities, there are ſeveral inſtructions to H. Killigrew, dated 10th Sept. 1572. He was then ſent into Scotland. It there appears, that the Regents, Murray and Lennox, had deſired Mary to be put into their hands, in order to try her and put her to death. Elizabeth there offers to Regent Mar, to deliver her up, provided good ſecurity were given, "that ſhe ſhould receive that ſhe hath deſerved there by "order of Juſtice, whereby no further peril ſhould enſue "by her eſcaping, or by ſetting her up again." It is probable, Mar refuſed compliance, for no ſteps were taken towards it.

I AM nearly printed out, and ſhall be ſure to ſend you a copy by the ſtage-coach, or ſome other conveyance. I beg of you to make remarks as you go along. It would have been much better had we communicated before printing, which was always my deſire, and was moſt ſuitable to the friendſhip which always did, and I hope always will, ſubſiſt between us. I ſpeak this chiefly on my own account. For though I had the peruſal of your ſheets before I printed, I was not able to derive ſufficient benefits from them, or indeed to make any alteration by their aſſiſtance. There ſtill remains, I fear, many errors, of which you could have convinced me, if we had canvaſſed the matter in converſation. Perhaps I might alſo have been ſometimes no leſs fortunate with you. Particularly I could almoſt undertake to convince you, that the Earl of Murray's conduct with the Duke of Norfolk was no way diſhonourable.

I HAVE ſeen a copy of your Hiſtory with Charles Stanhope. Lord Willoughby, who had been there reading ſome paſſages of it, ſaid, that you was certainly miſtaken with regard to the act paſſed in the laſt parliament of Mary, ſettling the Reformation. He ſaid that the act of Parliament the firſt of James was no proof of it: for though that ſtatute contains a ſtatute where the Queen's name was employed, yet that is always the caſe with the bills brought into Parliament, even though they receive not the Royal Aſſent, nor perhaps paſs the Houſes. I wiſh this be not the caſe, conſidering the teſtimony of Buchanan, Calderwood, and Spotſwood. Beſides, if the bill had before received the Royal Aſſent, what neceſſity of repeating it, or paſſing it again? Mary's title was more undiſputable than James's.

DR. BLAIR tells me, that Prince Edward is reading you, and is charmed. I hear the ſame of the Princeſs and Prince of Wales. But what will really give you pleaſure, I lent my copy to Elliot during the holidays, who thinks

it one of the fineſt performances he ever read; and though he expected much, he finds more. He remarked, however, (which is alſo my opinion,) that in the beginning, before your pen was ſufficiently accuſtomed to the hiſtoric ſtyle, you employed too many digreſſions and reflections. This was alſo ſomewhat my own caſe, which I have corrected in my new edition.

MILLAR was propoſing to publiſh me about the middle of March, but I ſhall communicate to him your deſire, even though I think it entirely groundleſs, as you will likewiſe think after you have read my volume. He has very needleſsly delayed your publication till the firſt of February, at the deſire of the Edinburgh bookſellers, who could no way be affected by a publication in London. I was exceedingly ſorry not to be able to comply with your deſire, when you expreſſed your wiſh, that I ſhould not write this period. I could not write downward. For when you find occaſion, by new diſcoveries, to correct your opinion with regard to facts which paſſed in Queen Elizabeth's days; who, that has not the beſt opportunities of informing himſelf, could venture to relate any recent tranſactions? I muſt therefore have abandoned altogether this ſcheme of the Engliſh Hiſtory, in which I had proceeded ſo far, if I had not acted as I did. You will ſee what light and force this Hiſtory of the Tudors beſtows on that of the Stewarts. Had I been prudent, I ſhould have begun with it. I care not to boaſt, but I will venture to ſay, that I have now effectually ſtopped the mouths of all thoſe villanous Whigs who railed at me.

YOU are ſo kind as to aſk me about my coming down. I can yet anſwer nothing. I have the ſtrangeſt reluctance to change places. I lived ſeveral years happy with my brother at Nine-wells, and had not his marriage changed a little the ſtate of the family, I believe I ſhould have lived and died there. I uſed every expedient to evade this journey to London, yet it is now uncertain whether I ſhall

 ever

ever leave it. I have had ſome invitations, and ſome intentions of taking a trip to Paris; but I believe it will be ſafer for me not to go thither, for I might probably ſettle there for life. No one was ever endowed with ſo great a portion of the *vis inertiæ*. But as I live here very privately, and avoid as much as poſſible (and it is eaſily poſſible) all connexions with the great, I believe I ſhould be better at Edinburgh. * * * * *

Mr. Hume *to* Dr. Robertson.

London, 8th Feb. 1759.

* * As to the *Age of Leo the Tenth*, it was Warton himſelf who intended to write it; but he has not wrote it, and probably never will. If I underſtand your hint, I ſhould conjecture, that you had ſome thoughts of taking up the ſubject. But how can you acquire knowledge of the great works of ſculpture, architecture, and painting, by which that age was chiefly diſtinguiſhed? Are you verſed in all the anecdotes of the Italian literature? Theſe queſtions I heard propoſed in a company of Literati when I enquired concerning this deſign of Warton. They applied their remarks to that gentleman, who yet, they ſay, has travelled. I wiſh they do not all of them fall more fully on you. However, you muſt not be idle. May I venture to ſuggeſt to you the Ancient Hiſtory, particularly that of Greece? I think Rollin's ſucceſs might encourage you, nor need you be the leaſt intimidated by his merit. That author has no other merit but a certain facility and ſweetneſs of narration, but has loaded his work with fifty puerilities.

Our friend, Wedderburn, is advancing with great ſtrides in his profeſſion. * * * * *

I desire my compliments to Lord Elibank. I hope His Lordſhip has forgot his vow of anſwering us, and of waſh-

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ing Queen Mary white. I am afraid that is impoffible; but His Lordfhip is very well qualified to gild her.

I am, &c.

Mr. Hume *to* Dr. Robertson.

* * * * *

I forgot to tell you that two days ago I was in the Houfe of Commons, where an Englifh gentleman came to me, and told me, that he had lately fent to a grocer's fhop for a pound of raifins, which he received wrapt up in a paper that he fhewed me. How would you have turned pale at the fight! It was a leaf of your Hiftory, and the very character of Queen Elizabeth, which you had laboured fo finely, little thinking it would fo foon come to fo difgraceful an end.—I happened a little after to fee Millar, and told him the ftory; confulting him, to be fure, on the fate of his new boafted Hiftorian of whom he was fo fond. But the ftory proves more ferious than I apprehended. For he told Strahan, who thence fufpects villany among his prentices and journeymen; and has fent me very earneftly to know the gentleman's name, that he may find out the grocer, and trace the matter to the bottom. In vain did I remonftrate that this was fooner or later the fate of all authors, *ferius, ocyus, fors exitura.* He will not be fatisfied; and begs me to keep my jokes for another occafion. But that I am refolved not to do; and therefore, being repulfed by his paffion and ferioufnefs, I direct them againft you.

Next week, I am publifhed; and then, I expect a conftant comparifon will be made between Dr. Robertfon and Mr. Hume. I fhall tell you in a few weeks which of thefe heroes is likely to prevail. Meanwhile, I can inform both of them for their comforts, that their combat is not likely to make half fo much noife as that between Broughton and the one-eyed coachman. *Vanitas vanita-*

 tum,

tum, atque omnia vanitas. I ſhall ſtill except, however, the friendſhip and good opinion of worthy men.

I am, &c.

Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

My dear Sir, London, 12th March, 1759.

I BELIEVE I mentioned to you, a French gentleman, Monſieur Helvetius, whoſe book, De l'Eſprit, was making a great noiſe in Europe. He is a very fine genius, and has the character of a very worthy man. My name is mentioned ſeveral times in his work with marks of eſteem; and he has made me an offer, if I would tranſlate his work into Engliſh, to tranſlate a-new all my philoſophical writings into French. He ſays, that none of them are well done, except that on the Natural Hiſtory of Religion, by Monſieur Matigny, a counſellor of ſtate. He added, that the Abbé Prevot, celebrated for the *Memoires d'un Homme d'Honneur*, and other entertaining books, was juſt now tranſlating my Hiſtory. This account of Helvetius engaged me to ſend him over the new editions of all my writings; and I have added your Hiſtory, which, I told him, was here publiſhed with great applauſe; adding, that the ſubject was intereſting and the execution maſterly; and that it was probable ſome man of letters at Paris may think that a tranſlation of it would be agreeable to the public. I thought that this was the beſt method of executing your intentions. I could not expect that any Frenchman here would be equal to the work. There is one Carracioli, who came to me and ſpoke of tranſlating my new volume of Hiſtory; but as he alſo mentioned his intentions of tranſlating Smollet, I gave him no encouragement to proceed. The ſame reaſon would make me averſe to ſee you in his hands.

BUT though I have given this character of your work to Monſieur Helvetius, I warn you, that this is the laſt time, that, either to Frenchman or Engliſhman, I ſhall ever

ever ſpeak the leaſt good of it. A plague take you! Here I ſat near the hiſtorical ſummit of Parnaſſus, immediately under Dr. Smollet; and you have the impudence to ſqueeze yourſelf by me, and place yourſelf directly under his feet. Do you imagine that this can be agreeable to me? And muſt not I be guilty of great ſimplicity to contribute by my endeavours to your thruſting me out of my place in Paris as well as at London? But I give you warning that you will find the matter ſomewhat difficult, at leaſt in the former city. A friend of mine, who is there, writes home to his father the ſtrangeſt accounts on that head; which my modeſty will not permit me to repeat, but which it allowed me very deliciouſly to ſwallow.

I HAVE got a good reaſon or pretence for excuſing me to Monſieur Helvetius with regard to the tranſlating his work. A tranſlation of it was previouſly advertiſed here.

I remain, &c.

Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

My dear Sir, London, 29th May, 1759.

I HAD a letter from Helvetius lately, wrote before your book arrived at Paris. He tells me that the Abbé Prevot; who had juſt finiſhed the tranſlation of my Hiſtory, *paroit très-diſpoſé à traduire l'Hiſtoire d'Ecoſſe que vient de faire Monſieur Robertſon.* If he be engaged by my perſuaſion, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of doing you a real credit and pleaſure: for he is one of the beſt pens in Paris.

I LOOKED with great impatience in your new edition for the note you ſeemed to intend with regard to the breach of the capitulation of Perth; and was much diſappointed at miſſing it. I own that I am very curious on that head. I cannot ſo much as imagine a colour upon which their accuſations could poſſibly be founded. The articles were only two; indemnity to the inhabitants, and the excluſion of French ſoldiers—now that Scotch national troops

troops were not Frenchmen and foreigners seems pretty apparent: and both Knox and the manifesto of the Congregation acquit the Queen-Regent of any breach of the first article, as I had observed in my note to page 422. This makes me suspect that some facts have escaped me; and I beg you to indulge my curiosity by informing me of them.

* * * * *

OUR friend Smith † is very successful here, and Gerard ‡ is very well received. The Epigoniad I cannot so much promise for, though I have done all in my power to forward it, particularly by writing a letter to the Critical Review, which you may peruse. I find, however, some good judges profess a great esteem for it, but *habent et sua fata libelli:* however, if you want a little flattery to the author, (which I own is very refreshing to an author,) you may tell him that Lord Chesterfield said to me he was a great poet. I imagine that Wilkie will be very much elevated by praise from an English Earl, and a Knight of the Garter, and an Ambassador, and a Secretary of State, and a man of so great reputation. For I observe that the greatest rustics are commonly most affected with such circumstances.

FERGUSON's book § has a great deal of genius and fine writing, and will appear in time. * * *

From DR. BIRCH *to* DR. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, London, Feb. 8th, 1759.

I HAVE just read over the second volume of your excellent History; and the satisfaction which I have received from the perusal of it, and the gratitude which I owe you for the honour done me in it, as well as for so valuable a present, will not permit me to lose one post in returning you my sincerest acknowledgments. My Lord Royston

† Theory of Moral Sentiments. ‡ Essay on Taste.

§ Essay on the History of Civil Society.

likewise

likewife defires me to tranfmit to you his thanks and compliments in the ftrongeft terms.

THOUGH your work has been fcarce a fortnight in the hands of the public, I can already inform you upon the authority of the beft judges, that the fpirit and elegance of the compofition, and the candour, moderation, and humanity which run through it, will fecure you the general approbation both of the prefent age and pofterity, and raife the character of our country in a fpecies of writing, in which of all others it has been moft defective.

IF the fecond volume of the State Papers of Lord Burghley, publifhed fince Chriftmas here, had appeared before your Hiftory had been finifhed, it would have furnifhed you with reafons for entertaining a lefs favourable opinion of Mary Queen of Scots in one or two points, than you feem at prefent poffeffed of. The principal is with regard to her laft intrigues and correfpondences which were the immediate caufe of her death. And I could wifh you had likewife feen a manufcript account of her trial in Lord Royfton's poffeffion. This account is much fuller than Camden's, whofe Hiftory is juftly to be fufpected in every thing relating to her; or than any other that has yet feen the light. It contains fo ample a ftate of the evidence produced of her guilt, as, I think, leaves no doubt of it; notwithftanding that the witneffes were not confronted with her; a manner of proceeding, which, though certainly due to every perfon accufed, was not ufual either before her time or long after.

YOU conclude in the note, vol. i. p. 307, in favour of her innocence from any criminal intrigue with Rizzio, from the filence to Randolph on that head. But I apprehend, that in oppofition to this allegation you may be urged with the joint letter of that gentleman and the Earl of Bedford of 27th March, 1566, in your Appendix, No. xv. p. 22.

I DESIRE

I DESIRE you to make my compliments acceptable to Sir David Dalrymple and Mr. Davidſon, and believe me to be, &c.

THOMAS BIRCH.

From Sir GILBERT ELLIOT *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, Admiralty, January 20th, 1759.

MILLAR has juſt ſent me the Hiſtory of Scotland. I cannot imagine why he ſhould delay the publication ſo long as the firſt of February, for I well know that the printing has been completed a great while. You could have ſent me no preſent which on its own account I ſhould have eſteemed ſo much; but you have greatly enhanced its value, by allowing me to accept it as a memorial and teſtimony of a friendſhip which I have long cultivated with equal ſatisfaction and ſincerity. I am no ſtranger to your book, though your copy is but juſt put into my hands: David Hume ſo far indulged my impatience, as to allow me to carry to the country during the holidays, the looſe ſheets which he happened to have by him. In that condition I read it quite through with the greateſt ſatisfaction, and in much leſs time than I ever employed on any portion of hiſtory of the ſame length. I had certainly neither leiſure nor inclination to exerciſe the function of a critic; carried along with the ſtream of the narration, I only felt, when I came to the concluſion, that you had greatly exceeded the expectations I had formed, though I do aſſure you theſe were not a little ſanguine. If, upon a more deliberate peruſal, I diſcover any blemiſh, I ſhall point it out without any ſcruple: at preſent, it ſeems to me that you have rendered the period you treat of as intereſting as any part of our Britiſh ſtory; the views you open of policy, manners, and religion, are ingenious, ſolid, and deep. Your work will certainly be ranked in the higheſt hiſtorical claſs; and for my own part,

I think

I think it besides, a composition of uncommon genius and eloquence.—I was afraid you might have been interrupted by the Reformation, but I find it much otherwise; you treat it with great propriety, and, in my opinion, with sufficient freedom. No revolution, whether civil or religious, can be accomplished without that degree of ardour and passion, which, in a later age, will be matter of ridicule to men who do not feel the occasion, and enter into the spirit of the times. But I must not get into dissertations; —I hope you will ever believe me, with great regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful Servant,

GILB. ELLIOT.

NOTE D. p. 58.

From BARON D'HOLBACH *to* DR. ROBERTSON.

Sir, Paris, the 30th of May, 1768.

I RECEIVED but a few days ago the favour of your letter, sent to me by Mr. Andrew Stuart; I am very proud of being instrumental in contributing to the translation of the valuable work you are going to publish. The excellent work you have published already is a sure sign of the reception your History of Charles V. will meet with in the continent; such an interesting subject deserves undoubtedly the attention of all Europe. You are very much in the right of being afraid of the hackney translators of Holland and Paris; accordingly I thought it my duty to find out an able hand capable of answering your desire. M. Suard, a gentleman well known for his style in French, and his knowledge in the English language, has, at my request, undertaken the translation of your valuable book; I know nobody in this country capable of performing better such a grand design. Consequently the best way will be for your bookseller, as soon as he publishes one sheet, to send it immediately *à Monsieur M. Suard,*

Directeur

Directeur de la Gazette de France, rue St. Roch à Paris; By means of this the ſheets of your book will be tranſlated as ſoon as they come from the preſs, provided the bookſeller of London is very ſtrict in not ſhewing the ſame favour to any other man upon the continent.

I have the honour to be,
With great conſideration,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient and humble Servant,
D'HOLBACH.

NOTE E. p. 67.

THE following letters have no immediate connection with the Hiſtory of Dr. Robertſon's Life, but, I truſt, that no apology is neceſſary for their inſertion here.

From Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Dear Robertſon, Paris, 1ſt December, 1763.

AMONG other agreeable circumſtances, which attend me at Paris, I muſt mention that of having a lady for a tranſlator, a woman of merit, the widow of an advocate. She was before very poor, and known but to few; but this work has got her reputation, and procured her a penſion from the court, which ſets her at her eaſe. She tells me, that ſhe has got a habit of induſtry; and would continue, if I could point out to her any other Engliſh book ſhe could undertake, without running the riſque of being anticipated by any other tranſlator. Your Hiſtory of Scotland is tranſlated, and is in the preſs: but I recommended to her your Hiſtory of Charles V., and promiſed to write to you, in order to know when it would be printed, and to deſire you to ſend over the ſheets from London as they came from the preſs; I ſhould put them into her hands, and ſhe would by that means have the ſtart of every other tranſlator. My two volumes laſt publiſhed

are

are at prefent in the prefs. She has a very eafy natural ftyle: fometimes fhe miftakes the fenfe; but I now correct her manufcript; and fhould be happy to render you the fame fervice, if my leifure permit me, as I hope it will. Do you afk me about my courfe of life? I can only fay, that I eat nothing but ambrofia, drink nothing but nectar, breathe nothing but incenfe, and tread on nothing but flowers. Every man I meet, and ftill more every lady, would think they were wanting in the moft indifpenfable duty, if they did not make to me a long and elaborate harangue in my praife. What happened laft week, when I had the honour of being prefented to the D——n's children at Verfailles, is one of the moft curious fcenes I ever yet paffed through. The Duc de B. the eldeft, a boy of ten years old, ftepped forth, and told me how many friends and admirers I had in this country, and that he reckoned himfelf in the number, from the pleafure he had received from the reading of many paffages in my works. When he had finifhed, his brother, the Count de P. who is two years younger, began his difcourfe, and informed me, that I had been long and impatiently expected in France; and that he himfelf expected foon to have great fatisfaction from the reading of my fine Hiftory. But what is more curious; when I was carried thence to the Count D'A., who is but four years of age, I heard him mumble fomething, which, though he had forgot it in the way, I conjectured from fome fcattered words, to have been alfo a panegyric dictated to him. Nothing could more furprife my friends the Parifian philofophers, than this incident * * * * * * * * * It is conjectured that this honour was payed me by exprefs order from the D. who, indeed, is not, on any occafion, fparing in my praife.

All this attention and panegyric was at firft oppreffive to me; but now it fits more eafy. I have recovered, in

ſome meaſure, the uſe of the language, and am falling into friendſhips, which are very agreeable; much more ſo than ſilly, diſtant admiration. They now begin to banter me, and tell droll ſtories of me, which they have either obſerved themſelves, or have heard from others; ſo that you ſee I am beginning to be at home. It is probable, that this place will be long my home. I feel little inclination to the factious barbarians of London; and have ever deſired to remain in the place where I am planted. How much more ſo, when it is the beſt place in the world? I could here live in great abundance on the half of my income; for there is no place where money is ſo little requiſite to a man who is diſtinguiſhed either by his birth or by perſonal qualities. I could run out, you ſee, in a panegyric on the people; but you would ſuſpect, that this was a mutual convention between us. However, I cannot forbear obſerving, on what a different footing learning and the learned are here, from what they are among the factious barbarians above mentioned.

I HAVE here met with a prodigious hiſtorical curioſity, the Memoirs of King James II. in fourteen volumes, all wrote with his own hand, and kept in the Scots College. I have looked into it, and have made great diſcoveries. It will be all communicated to me; and I have had an offer of acceſs to the Secretary of State's office, if I want to know the diſpatches of any French miniſter that reſided in London. But theſe matters are much out of my head. I beg of you to viſit Lord Mariſchal, who will be pleaſed with your company. I have little paper remaining and leſs time; and therefore conclude abruptly, by aſſuring you that I am,

Dear Doctor,

Yours ſincerely,

DAVID HUME.

From

From Mr. Hume *to* Dr. Robertson.

My dear Sir, London, 19th March, 1767.

YOU do extremely right in applying to me wherever it is the leaſt likely I can ſerve you or any of your friends. I conſulted immediately with General Conway, who told me, as I ſuſpected, that the chaplains to forts and garriſons were appointed by the War Office, and did not belong to his department. Unhappily I have but a ſlight acquaintance with Lord Barrington, and cannot venture to aſk him any favour; but I ſhall call on Pryce Campbell, though not of my acquaintance, and ſhall enquire of him the canals through which this affair may be conducted: perhaps it may lie in my power to facilitate it by ſome means or other.

I shall endeavour to find out the unhappy philoſopher you mention, though it will be difficult for me to do him any ſervice. He is an ingenious man, but unfortunate in his conduct, particularly in the early part of his life. The world is ſo cruel as never to overlook thoſe flaws; and nothing but hypocriſy can fully cover them from obſervation. There is not ſo effectual a ſcourer of reputations in the world. I wiſh that I had never parted with that *Lixivium*, in caſe I ſhould at any future time have occaſion for it.

* * * * *

* * A few days before my arrival in London, Mr. Davenport had carried to Mr. Conway a letter of Rouſſeau's, in which that philoſopher ſays, that he had never meant to refuſe the King's bounty, that he would be proud of accepting it, but that he would owe it entirely to His Majeſty's generoſity and that of his miniſters, and would refuſe it if it came through any other canal whatſoever, even that of Mr. Davenport. Mr. Davenport then addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Conway, and aſked whether it was not poſſible to recover what this man's madneſs had thrown away? The Secretary replied, that I ſhould be

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARAS

in London in a few days, and that he would take no ſteps in the affair but at my deſire and with my approbation. When the matter was propoſed to me, I exhorted the General to do this act of charity to a man of genius, however wild and extravagant. The King, when applied to, ſaid, that ſince the penſion had once been promiſed, it ſhould be granted notwithſtanding all that had paſſed in the interval. And thus the affair is happily finiſhed, unleſs ſome new extravagance come acroſs the philoſopher, and engage him to reject what he has a-new applied for. If he knew my ſituation with General Conway he probably would: for he muſt then conjecture that the affair could not be done without my conſent.

FERGUSON's book goes on here with great ſucceſs. A few days ago I ſaw Mrs. Montague, who has juſt finiſhed it with great pleaſure: I mean, ſhe was ſorry to finiſh it, but had read it with great pleaſure. I aſked her, Whether ſhe was ſatisfied with the ſtyle? Whether it did not ſavour ſomewhat of the country? O yes, ſaid ſhe, a great deal: it ſeems almoſt impoſſible that any one could write ſuch a ſtyle except a Scotſman.

I FIND you prognoſticate a very ſhort date to my adminiſtration: I really believe that few (but not evil) will be my days. My abſence will not probably allow my claret time to ripen, much leſs to ſour. However that may be, I hope to drink out the remainder of it with you in mirth and jollity. I am ſincerely yours *uſque ad aras*.

DAVID HUME.

IN comparing the amiable qualities diſplayed in Mr. Hume's familiar letters, and (according to the univerſal teſtimony of his friends) exhibited in the whole tenor of his private conduct, with thoſe paſſages in his metaphyſical writings which ſtrike at the root of the moral and religious principles of our nature, I have ſometimes pleaſed

pleaſed myſelf with recollecting the ingenious argument againſt the theories of Epicurus, which Cicero deduces from the hiſtory of that philoſopher's life. "Ac mihi "quidem, quod et ipſe vir bonus fuit, et multi Epicurei "fuerunt et hodie ſunt et in amicitia fideles, et in omni "vita conſtantes et graves, nec voluptate ſed officio con-"ſilia moderantes, hoc videtur major vis honeſtatis et "minor voluptatis. Ita enim vivunt quidam, ut eorum "vita refellatur oratio. Atque ut ceteri exiſtimantur "dicere melius quam facere, ſic hi mihi videntur facere "melius quam dicere."

NOTE F. p. 86.

I HAVE allotted this note for ſome letters from Mr. Gibbon to Dr. Robertſon, which appeared to me likely to intereſt the public curioſity.

Mr. GIBBON *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Bentinck Street, Nov. the 3d, 1779.

* * * * *

WHEN I expreſs my ſtrong hope that you will viſit London next ſpring, I muſt acknowledge that it is of the moſt intereſting kind. Beſides the pleaſure which I ſhall enjoy in your ſociety and converſation, I cheriſh the expectation of deriving much benefit from your candid and friendly criticiſm. The remainder of my firſt period of the Decline and Fall, &c. which will end with the ruin of the Weſtern Empire, is already very far advanced; but the ſubject has already grown ſo much under my hands, that it will form a ſecond and third volume in quarto, which will probably go to the preſs in the courſe of the enſuing ſummer.—Perhaps you have ſeen in the papers, that I was appointed ſome time ago one of the Lords of Trade; but I believe you are enough acquainted with the country to judge, that the buſineſs of my new office has not much interrupted the progreſs of my ſtudies.

The attendance in Parliament is indeed more laborious; I apprehend a rough feffion, and I fear that a black cloud is gathering in Ireland.

Be fo good as to prefent my fincere compliments to Mr. Smith, Mr. Fergufon, and if he fhould ftill be with you, to Dr. Gillies, for whofe acquaintance I efteem myfelf much indebted to you. I have often confidered, with fome fort of envy, the valuable fociety which you poffefs in fo narrow a compafs.

I am, dear Sir, with the higheft regard,

Moft faithfully yours,

E. GIBBON.

Mr. Gibbon *to* Dr. Robertson.

Dear Sir, London, September 1, 1783.

YOUR candid and friendly interpretation will afcribe to bufinefs, to ftudy, to pleafure, to conftitutional indolence, or to any other venial caufe, the guilt of neglecting fo valuable a correfpondent as yourfelf. I fhould have thanked you for the opportunities which you have afforded me of forming an acquaintance with feveral men of merit who deferve your friendfhip, and whofe character and converfation fuggeft a very pleafing idea of the fociety which you enjoy at Edinburgh.—I muft at the fame time lament, that the hurry of a London life has not allowed me to obtain fo much as I could have wifhed, of their company, and muft have given them an unfavourable opinion of my hofpitality, unlefs they have weighed with indulgence the various obftacles of time and place. Mr. Stewart I had not even the pleafure of feeing; he paffed through this city in his way to Paris, while I was confined with a painful fit of the gout, and in the fhort interval of his ftay, the hours of meeting which were mutually propofed, could not be made to agree with our refpective engagements. Mr. Dalzel, who is undoubtedly a modeft and learned man, I have had the pleafure of feeing; but

his arrival has unluckily fallen on a time of year, and a particular year, in which I have been very little in town. I ſhould rejoice if I could repay theſe loſſes by a viſit to Edinburgh, a more tranquil ſcene, to which yourſelf, and our friend Mr. Adam Smith, would powerfully attract me. But this project, which, in a leiſure hour, has often amuſed my fancy, muſt now be reſigned, or muſt be poſtponed at leaſt to a very diſtant period. In a very few days, (before I could receive the favour of an anſwer,) I ſhall begin my journey to Lauſanne in Switzerland, where I ſhall fix my reſidence, in a delightful ſituation, with a dear and excellent friend of that country; ſtill mindful of my Britiſh friends, but renouncing, without reluctance, the tumult of Parliament, the hopes and fears, the prejudices and paſſions of political life, to which my nature has always been averſe. Our noble friend Lord Loughborough has endeavoured to divert me from this reſolution; he riſes every day in dignity and reputation, and if the means of patronage had not been ſo ſtrangely reduced by our modern reformers, I am perſuaded his conſtant and liberal kindneſs would more than ſatisfy the moderate deſires of a philoſopher. What I cannot hope for from the favour of miniſters, I muſt patiently expect from the courſe of nature; and this exile, which I do not view in a very gloomy light, will be terminated in due time, by the deaths of aged ladies, whoſe inheritance will place me in an eaſy and even affluent ſituation. But theſe particulars are only deſigned for the ear of friendſhip.

I HAVE already diſpatched to Lauſanne, two immenſe caſes of books, the tools of my hiſtorical manufacture; others I ſhall find on the ſpot, and that country is not deſtitute of public and private libraries, which will be freely opened for the uſe of a man of letters. The tranquil leiſure which I ſhall enjoy, will be partly employed in the proſecution of my hiſtory; but although my diligence will be quickened by the proſpect of returning to

 England,

England, to publiſh the laſt volumes (three, I am afraid) of this laborious work, yet I ſhall proceed with cautious ſteps to compoſe and to correct, and the dryneſs of my undertaking will be relieved by mixture of more elegant and claſſical ſtudies, more eſpecially of the Greek authors. Such good company will, I am ſure, be pleaſant to the hiſtorian, and I am inclined to believe that it will be beneficial to the work itſelf. I have been lately much flattered with the praiſe of Dr. Blair, and a cenſure of the Abbé de Mably; both of them are preciſely the men from whom I could wiſh to obtain praiſe and cenſure, and both theſe gratifications I have the pleaſure of ſharing with yourſelf. The Abbé appears to hate, and affects to deſpiſe, every writer of his own times, who has been well received by the public; and Dr. Blair, who is a maſter in one ſpecies of compoſition, has diſplayed, on every ſubject, the warmeſt feeling, and the moſt accurate judgment.— I will frankly own that my pride is elated, as often as I find myſelf ranked in the triumvirate of Britiſh hiſtorians of the preſent age, and though I feel myſelf the Lepidus, I contemplate with pleaſure the ſuperiority of my colleagues. Will you be ſo good as to aſſure Dr. A. Smith of my regard and attachment. I conſider myſelf as writing to both, and will not fix him for a ſeparate anſwer. My direction is, *A Monſieur Monſieur Gibbon à Lauſanne en Suiſſe*. I ſhall often plume myſelf on the friendſhip of Dr. Robertſon, but muſt I tell foreigners, that while the meaner heroes fight, Achilles has retired from war?

I am, my Dear Sir,

Moſt affectionately yours,

E. GIBBON.

From Mr. GIBBON *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Lord Sheffield's, Downing Street,

Dear Sir, March 26, 1788.

AN error in your direction (to Wimpole Street, where I never had an houſe) delayed ſome time the delivery of

of your very obliging letter, but that delay is not ſufficient to excuſe me for not taking an earlier notice of it. Perhaps the number of minute but indiſpenſable cares that ſeem to multiply before the hour of publication, may prove a better apology, eſpecially with a friend who has himſelf paſſed through the ſame labours of the ſame conſummation. The important day is now fixed to the eighth of May, and it was choſen by Cadell, as it coincides with the end of the fifty-firſt year of the author's age. That honeſt and liberal bookſeller has invited me to celebrate the double feſtival, by a dinner at his houſe.—Some of our common friends will be preſent, but we ſhall all lament your abſence, and that of Dr. Adam Smith (whoſe health and welfare will always be moſt intereſting to me); and it gives me real concern that the time of your viſits to the metropolis has not agreed with my tranſient reſidence in my native country. I am grateful for the opportunity with which you furniſh me of again peruſing your works in their moſt improved ſtate; and I have deſired Cadell to diſpatch, for the uſe of my two Edinburgh friends, two copies of the laſt three volumes of my Hiſtory. Whatever may be the inconſtancy of taſte or faſhion, a rational lover of fame may be ſatisfied if he deſerves and obtains your approbation. The praiſe which has ever been the moſt flattering to my ear is, to find my name aſſociated with the names of Robertſon and Hume; and provided I can maintain my place in the triumvirate, I am indifferent at what diſtance I am ranked below my companions and maſters.

WITH regard to my preſent work, I am inclined to believe that it ſurpaſſes in variety and entertainment at leaſt the ſecond and third volumes. A long and eventful period is compreſſed into a ſmaller ſpace, and the new barbarians, who now aſſault and ſubvert the Roman Empire, enjoy the advantage of ſpeaking their own language, and relating their own exploits.

After the publication of these last volumes, which extend to the siege of Constantinople, and comprise the ruins of ancient Rome, I shall retire (in about two months) to Lausanne, and my friends will be pleased to hear that I enjoy in that retreat, as much repose and even happiness, as is consistent, perhaps, with the human condition. At proper intervals, I hope to repeat my visits to England, but no change of circumstance or situation will probably tempt me to desert my Swiss residence, which unites almost every advantage that riches can give, or fancy desire. With regard to my future literary plans, I can add nothing to what you will soon read in my Preface. But an hour's conversation with you, would allow me to explain some visionary designs which sometimes float in my mind; and, if I should ever form any serious resolution of labours, I would previously, though by the imperfect mode of a letter, consult you on the propriety and merit of any new undertakings. I am, with great regard,

Dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours,

E. GIBBON.

NOTE G. p. 91.

AS Dr. Robertson received particular satisfaction from the approbation of the gentleman whose geographical researches suggested the first idea of this disquisition, I flatter myself that no apology is necessary for the liberty I take in quoting a short extract from one of his letters.

From Major Rennell *to* Dr. Robertson.

London, 2d July, 1791.

* * * After reading your book twice, I may with truth say, that I was never more instructed or amused than by the perusal of it; for although a great part

part of its ſubject had long been revolving in my mind, yet I had not been able to concentrate the matter in the manner you have done, or to make the different parts bear on each other.

The ſubject of the Appendix was what intereſted the public greatly; and was only to be acquired (if at all) by the ſtudy or peruſal of a great number of different tracts; a taſk not to be accompliſhed by ordinary readers.

It gives me unfeigned pleaſure to have been the inſtrument of ſuggeſting ſuch a taſk to you; and I ſhall reflect with pleaſure, during my life, that I ſhall travel down to poſterity with you; you, in your place, in the *great road* of Hiſtory; whilſt I keep the *ſide-path* of Geography. Since I underſtood the ſubject, I have ever thought, that the beſt hiſtorian is the beſt geographer; and if hiſtorians would direct a proper perſon, ſkilled in the principles of geography, to *embody* (as I may ſay) their ideas for them, the hiſtorian would find himſelf better ſerved, than by relying on thoſe who may properly be ſtyled *map-makers*. For after all, whence does the geographer derive his materials but from the labours of the hiſtorian? * * * * *

NOTE H. p. 103.

SINCE theſe remarks on Dr. Robertſon's ſtyle were written, I have met with ſome critical reflections on the ſame ſubject by Mr. Burke, too honourable for Dr. Robertſon to be ſuppreſſed in this publication, although, in ſome particulars, they do not coincide with the opinion I have preſumed to ſtate †.

"There is a ſtyle," (ſays Mr. Burke, in a letter, addreſſed to Mr. Murphy on his Tranſlation of Tacitus,)

† It is proper for me to mention, that I have no authority for the authenticity of the following paſſage but that of a London newſpaper, in which it appeared ſome years ago. I do not find, however, that it has been ever called in queſtion.

"which

" which daily gains ground amongſt us, which I ſhould " be ſorry to ſee further advanced by a writer of your " juſt reputation. The tendency of the mode to which " I allude is, to eſtabliſh two very different idioms amongſt " us, and to introduce a marked diſtinction between the " Engliſh that is written and the Engliſh that is ſpoken. " This practice, if grown a little more general, would " confirm this diſtemper, ſuch I muſt think it, in our " language, and perhaps render it incurable.

" From this feigned manner of *falſetto*, as I think the " muſicians call ſomething of the ſame ſort in ſinging, no " one modern hiſtorian, Robertſon only excepted, is per- " fectly free. It is aſſumed, I know, to give dignity and " variety to the ſtyle. But whatever ſucceſs the attempt " may ſometimes have, it is always obtained at the ex- " pence of purity, and of the graces that are natural and " appropriate to our language. It is true that when the " exigence calls for auxiliaries of all ſorts, and common " language becomes unequal to the demands of extraor- " dinary thoughts, ſomething ought to be conceded to " the neceſſities which make 'ambition virtue.' But the " allowances to neceſſities ought not to grow into a prac- " tice. Thoſe portents and prodigies ought not to grow " too common. If you have, here and there, (much more " rarely, however, than others of great and not unmerited " fame,) fallen into an error, which is not that of the dull " or careleſs, you have an author who is himſelf guilty, " in his own tongue, of the ſame fault, in a very high " degree. No author thinks more deeply, or paints more " ſtrongly; but he ſeldom or ever expreſſes himſelf " naturally. It is plain, that comparing him with Plau- " tus and Terence, or the beautiful fragments of Publius " Syrus, he did not write the language of good converſa- " tion. Cicero is much nearer to it. Tacitus, and the " writers of his time, have fallen into that vice, by aim- " ing at a poetical ſtyle. It is true, that eloquence in

" both

"both modes of rhetorick is fundamentally the ſame; but "the manner of handling it is totally different, even where "words and phraſes may be transferred from the one of "theſe departments of writing to the other."

FOR this encomium on Dr. Robertſon's ſtyle when conſidered in contraſt with that of Mr. Gibbon, (to whom it is probable that Mr. Burke's ſtrictures more particularly refer,) there is unqueſtionably a very ſolid foundation; but in eſtimating the merits of the former as an Engliſh writer, I muſt acknowledge that I ſhould never have thought of ſingling out, among his characteriſtical excellencies, an approach to the language of good converſation. It is indeed ſurpriſing, when we attend to the elevation of that tone which he uniformly ſuſtains, how very ſeldom his turn of expreſſion can be cenſured as unnatural or affected. The graces of his compoſition, however, although great and various, are by no means thoſe which are *appropriate to our language*; and, in fact, he knew too well the extent and the limits of his own powers to attempt them. Accordingly he has aimed at perfections of a ſtill higher order, the effect of which is ſcarcely diminiſhed, when we contemplate them through the medium of a foreign tranſlation.

LORD CHESTERFIELD's judgment with reſpect to Dr. Robertſon, while it is equally flattering with that of Mr. Burke, appears to me more preciſe and juſt. "There "is a Hiſtory lately come out, of the reign of Mary Queen "of Scots and her ſon King James, written by one Ro-"bertſon a Scotchman, which for *clearneſs*, *purity*, and "*dignity*, I will not ſcruple to compare with the beſt "hiſtorians extant, not excepting Davila, Guicciardini, "and perhaps Livy."

MAY I be permitted to remark, that in the oppoſite extreme to that fault which Mr. Burke has here ſo juſtly cenſured, there is another originating in too cloſe an adherence to what he recommends as the model of good writing,

writing, the eafe and familiarity of colloquial difcourfe. In the productions of his more advanced years, he has occafionally fallen into it himfelf, and has fanctioned it by his example, in the numerous herd of his imitators, who are incapable of atoning for it, by copying the exquifite and inimitable beauties which abound in his compofitions. For my own part, I can much more eafily reconcile myfelf, in a grave and dignified argument, to the *dulcia vitia* of Tacitus and of Gibbon, than to that affectation of *cant* words and allufions which fo often debafes Mr. Burke's eloquence, and which was long ago ftigmatized by Swift as "the moft ruinous of all the corruptions of a language."

NOTE I. p. 104.

IT might be confidered by fome as a blameable omiffion, if I were to pafs over in filence the marks of regard which Dr. Robertfon received from different literary academies on the continent. I have already taken notice of the honour conferred on him by the Royal Academy of Hiftory at Madrid; but it remains for me to mention, that, in 1781, he was elected one of the foreign members of the Academy of Sciences at Padua; and in 1783, one of the foreign members of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Peterfburgh.

FROM the laft of thefe cities, he was honoured with another very flattering diftinction; the intelligence of which was conveyed to him by his friend Dr. Rogerfon in a letter from which the following paffage is tranfcribed:

" YOUR Hiftory of America was received and perufed " by Her Imperial Majefty with fingular marks of appro- " bation. All your hiftorical productions have been ever " favourite parts of her reading. Not long ago, doing me " the honour to converfe with me upon hiftorical compofi- " tion, fhe mentioned you with particular diftinction, and " with much admiration of that fagacity and difcernment

" difplayed

" difplayed by you in painting the human mind and " character, as diverfified by the various caufes that " operated upon it, in thofe æras and ftates of fociety " on which your fubject led you to treat. She affigned " you the place of firft model in that fpecies of com- " pofition. As to the Hiftory of Charles V. fhe was " pleafed to add, *c'eft le compagnon conftant de tous mes* " *voyages ; je ne me laffe jamais à le lire, & particulièrement* " *le premier volume.*"

" SHE then prefented a very handfome gold enamelled " fnuff-box, richly fet with diamonds, ordering me to " tranfmit it to you, and to defire your acceptance of it " as a mark of her efteem, obferving, at the fame time, " moft gracioufly, that a perfon, whofe labours had " afforded her fo much fatisfaction, merited fome " attention from her."

NOTE K. p. 107.

" THE mixture of ecclefiaftical and lay-members in " the Church Courts is attended with the happieft effects. " It corrects that *efprit de corps* which is apt to prevail in " all affemblies of profeffional men. It affords the prin- " cipal nobility and gentry of Scotland an opportunity of " obtaining a feat in the General Affembly when any in- " terefting object calls for their attendance ; and although " in the factious and troublefome times which our an- " ceftors faw, the General Affembly, by means of this " mixture, became a fcene of political debate, this acci- " dental evil is counterbalanced by permanent good : for " the prefence of thofe lay-members of high rank, whofe " names are ufually found upon the roll of the Affembly, " has a powerful influence in maintaining that connection " between church and ftate which is neceffary for the " peace, fecurity, and welfare of both*."

* MS. of Dr. Hill.

NOTE

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SAR

NOTE L. p. 113.

THE paper referred to in the text is entitled "Reaſons "of Diſſent from the Judgment and Reſolution of the "Commiſſion, March 11, 1752, reſolving to inflict no "Cenſure on the Preſbytery of Dumfermline for their "Diſobedience in relation to the Settlement of Inver- "keithing." It is ſubſcribed by Dr. Robertſon, Dr. Blair, Mr. John Home, and a few of their friends. I ſhall ſubjoin the two firſt articles.

1. "BECAUSE we conceive this ſentence of the com- "miſſion to be inconſiſtent with the nature and firſt prin- "ciples of ſociety. When men are conſidered as indi- "viduals, we acknowledge that they have no guide but "their own underſtanding, and no judge but their own "conſcience. But we hold it for an undeniable principle, "that, as members of ſociety, they are bound in many "inſtances to follow the judgment of the ſociety. By "joining together in ſociety, we enjoy many advantages, "which we could neither purchaſe nor ſecure in a diſ- "united ſtate. In conſideration of theſe we conſent that "regulations for public order ſhall be eſtabliſhed; not by "the private fancy of every individual, but by the judg- "ment of the majority, or of thoſe with whom the "ſociety has conſented to intruſt the legiſlative power. "Their judgment muſt neceſſarily be abſolute and final, "and their deciſions received as the voice and inſtruction "of the whole. In a numerous ſociety it ſeldom happens "that all the members think uniformly concerning the "wiſdom and expedience of any public regulation; but "no ſooner is that regulation enacted, than private judg- "ment is ſo far ſuperſeded, that even they who diſapprove "it, are notwithſtanding bound to obey it, and to put it "in execution if required: unleſs in a caſe of ſuch groſs "iniquity and manifeſt violation of the original deſign of "the ſociety as juſtifies reſiſtance to the ſupreme power,

"and

" and makes it better to have the ſociety diſſolved than " to ſubmit to eſtabliſhed iniquity. Such extraordinary " caſes we can eaſily conceive there may be, as will give " any man a juſt title to ſeek the diſſolution of the ſociety " to which he belongs, or at leaſt will fully juſtify his " withdrawing from it. But as long as he continues in " it, profeſſes regard for it, and reaps the emoluments of " it, if he refuſes to obey its laws, he manifeſtly acts both " a diſorderly and diſhoneſt part: he lays claim to the " privileges of the ſociety while he contemns the autho- " rity of it; and by all principles of equity and reaſon is " juſtly ſubjected to its cenſures. They who maintain " that ſuch diſobedience deſerves no cenſure, maintain, " in effect, that there ſhould be no ſuch thing as govern- " ment and order. They deny thoſe firſt principles by " which men are united in ſociety; and endeavour to " eſtabliſh ſuch maxims, as will juſtify not only licentiouſ- " neſs in eccleſiaſtical, but rebellion and diſorder in civil " government. And therefore, as the Reverend Com- " miſſion have by their ſentence declared, that diſobe- " dience to the ſupreme judicature of the church neither " infers guilt, nor deſerves cenſure; as they have ſur- " rendered a right eſſential to the nature and ſubſiſtence " of every ſociety; as they have (ſo far as lay in them) " betrayed the privileges and deſerted the orders of the " conſtitution; we could not have acted a dutiful part to " the church, nor a ſafe one to ourſelves, unleſs we had " diſſented from this ſentence; and craved liberty to re- " preſent to this venerable aſſembly that this deed ap- " pears to us to be manifeſtly beyond the powers of a " Commiſſion.

2. " Because this ſentence of the Commiſſion, as it is " ſubverſive of ſociety in general, ſo, in our judgments, " it is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the nature and preſer- " vation of eccleſiaſtical ſociety in particular.—The cha- " racters which we bear, of Miniſters and Elders of this

" Church, render it unneceſſary for us to declare, that we " join with all Proteſtants in acknowledging the Lord " Jeſus Chriſt to be the only King and Head of his " Church. We admit that the church is not merely a " voluntary ſociety, but a ſociety founded by the laws of " Chriſt. But to his laws we conceive it to be moſt " agreeable, that order ſhould be preſerved in the external " adminiſtration of the affairs of the church. And we " contend, in the words of our *Confeſſion of Faith*, ' That " there are ſome circumſtances concerning the worſhip of " God, and the government of the church, common to " human actions and ſocieties, which are to be ordered " by the light of nature and Chriſtian prudence according " to the general rules of the word, which are always to " be obſerved.' It is very evident that unleſs the church " were ſupported by continual miracles, and a perpetual " and extraordinary interpoſition of Heaven, it can only " ſubſiſt by thoſe fundamental maxims by which all ſo- " ciety ſubſiſts. A kingdom divided againſt itſelf cannot " ſtand. There can be no union, and by conſequence " there can be no ſociety, where there is no ſubordina- " tion; and therefore ſince miracles are now ceaſed, we " do conceive that no church or eccleſiaſtical ſociety can " exiſt without obedience required from its members, " and inforced by proper ſanctions Accordingly, there " never was any regularly conſtituted church in the " Chriſtian world, where there was not at the ſame time " ſome exerciſe of diſcipline and authority. It has in- " deed been aſſerted, ' That the cenſures of the church " are never to be inflicted, but upon open tranſgreſſors of " the laws of Chriſt himſelf; and that no man is to be " conſtructed an open tranſgreſſor of the laws of Chriſt " for not obeying the commands of any aſſembly of falli- " ble men, when he declares it was a conſcientious re- " gard to the will of Chriſt that led him to this diſ- " obedience.'—This is called aſſerting liberty of conſcience,

" and

" and ſupporting the rights of private judgment; and
" upon ſuch reaſonings the reverend commiſſion pro-
" ceeded in coming to that deciſion of which we now
" complain. But we think ourſelves called on to ſay,
" and we ſay it with concern, that ſuch principles as theſe
" appear to us calculated to eſtabliſh the moſt extravagant
" maxims of independency, and to overthrow from the
" very foundation that happy eccleſiaſtical conſtitution
" which we glory in being members of, and which we
" are reſolved to ſupport. For, upon theſe principles, no
" church whatever, conſiſting, as every church on earth
" muſt conſiſt, of *fallible* men, has right to inflict any
" cenſure on any diſobedient perſon. Let ſuch perſon
" only think fit boldly to uſe the name of conſcience, and
" ſheltered under its authority, he acquires at once a right
" of doing whatſoever is good in his own eyes. If
" anarchy and confuſion follow, as no doubt they will,
" there is, it ſeems, no remedy. We are ſorry to ſay
" that brethren who profeſs to hold ſuch principles, ought
" to have acted more conſiſtently with them, and not to
" have joined themſelves to any church till once they had
" found out an aſſembly of *infallible* men, to whoſe autho-
" rity they would have acknowledged ſubmiſſion to be
" due. We allow to the right of private judgment all
" the extent and obligation that reaſon or religion require;
" but we can never admit, that any man's private judg-
" ment gives him a right to diſturb, with impunity, all
" public order. We hold, that as every man has a
" right to judge for himſelf in religious matters, ſo every
" church, or ſociety of Chriſtians, has a right to judge
" for itſelf, what method of external adminiſtration is moſt
" agreeable to the laws of Chriſt; and no man ought to
" become a member of that church, who is not reſolved
" to conform himſelf to its adminiſtration. We think it
" very conſiſtent with conſcience for inferiors to diſap-
" prove, in their own mind, of a judgment given by a

" ſuperior court, and yet to put that judgment in execu-
" tion as the deed of their ſuperiors for conſcience ſake;
" ſeeing we humbly conceive it is, or ought to be, a
" matter of conſcience with every member of the church,
" to ſupport the authority of that church to which he
" belongs. Church-cenſures are declared by our *Confeſ-*
" *ſion of Faith* to be ' neceſſary, not only for gaining and
" reclaiming the offending brethren, but alſo for deterring
" of others from the like offences, and for purging out
" the leaven which might leaven the whole lump.' What
" theſe cenſures are, and what the crimes againſt which
" they are directed, is eaſily to be learned from the con-
" ſtitution of every church; and whoever believes its cen-
" ſure to be too ſevere, or its known orders and laws to
" be in any reſpect iniquitous, ſo that he cannot in con-
" ſcience comply with them, ought to beware of involving
" himſelf in ſin by entering into it; or if he hath raſhly
" joined himſelf, he is bound, as an honeſt man and a
" good Chriſtian, to withdraw, and to keep his conſcience
" clear and undefiled. But, on the other hand, if a judi-
" cature, which is appointed to be the guardian and
" defender of the laws and orders of the ſociety, ſhall
" abſolve them who break their laws, from all cenſure,
" and by ſuch a deed encourage and invite to future
" diſobedience, we conceive it will be found, that they
" have exceeded their powers, and betrayed their truſt in
" the moſt eſſential inſtance."

* * * * *

NOTE M. p. 115.

"DR. ROBERTSON's ſyſtem with reſpect to the law
" of patronage proceeded on the following principles:
" That as patronage is the law of the land, the courts of
" a national church eſtabliſhed and protected by law, and
" all the individual miniſters of that church are bound, in
" as far as it depends upon exertions ariſing from the
" duties

" duties of their place, to give it effect: that every oppo-
" sition to the legal rights of patrons tends to diminish
" that reverence which all the subjects of a free govern-
" ment ought to entertain for the law; and that it is dan-
" gerous to accustom the people to think that they can
" elude the law or defeat its operation, because success in
" one instance leads to greater licentiousness. Upon these
" principles Dr. Robertson thought that the church courts
" betrayed their duty to the constitution, when the spirit
" of their decisions, or negligence in enforcing obedience
" to their orders, created unnecessary obstacles to the
" exercise of the right of patronage, and fostered in the
" minds of the people the false idea that they have a right
" to chuse their own ministers, or even a negative upon
" the nomination of the patron. He was well aware that
" the subjects of Great Britain are entitled to apply in a
" constitutional manner for the repeal of every law, which
" they consider as a grievance. But while he supported
" patronage as the existing law, he regarded it also as the
" most expedient method of settling vacant parishes. It
" did not appear to him that the people are competent
" judges of those qualities which a minister should possess
" in order to be a useful teacher either of the doctrines of
" pure religion, or of the precepts of sound morality. He
" suspected that if the probationers of the church were
" taught to consider their success in obtaining a settlement
" as depending upon a popular election, many of them
" would be tempted to adopt a manner of preaching more
" calculated to please the people than to promote their edi-
" fication. He thought that there is little danger to be ap-
" prehended from the abuse of the law patronage, because
" the presentee must be chosen from amongst those whom
" the church itself had approved of, and had licensed as
" qualified for the office of the ministry; because a presentee
" cannot be admitted to the benefice, if any relevant charge
" as to his life or doctrine be proved against him: and

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARAS...

"because, after ordination and admiſſion, he is liable to be "depoſed for improper conduct. When every poſſible pre-"caution is thus taken to prevent unqualified perſons from "being introduced into the church, or thoſe who after-"wards prove unworthy from remaining in it, the occa-"ſional evils and abuſes from which no human inſtitution "is exempted, could not, in the opinion of Dr. Robertſon, "be fairly urged as reaſons againſt the law of patronage."

* * * * *

"SUCH was the ſyſtem which, in conjunction with the "friend of his youth, Dr. Robertſon ably ſupported for "thirty years after his firſt appearance in the General "Aſſembly. In ſpeaking upon a particular queſtion, he "ſometimes gave the outlines of this ſyſtem for the ſatis-"faction of the houſe in general, and the inſtruction of "the younger members. The deciſions which for a long "courſe of years he dictated, form a common law of the "church in which the ſyſtem is unfolded. His conver-"ſation imprinted upon the minds of thoſe who were "admitted to it during the courſe of the Aſſembly, the "principles which pervaded his deciſions: and thus were "diffuſed throughout the church the rational and con-"ſiſtent ideas of Preſbyterian government upon which he "and his friends uniformly acted.

"THESE ideas continue to direct the General Aſſem-"blies of the church of Scotland. For although it is "not likely that any member of that houſe will ever "poſſeſs the unrivalled undiſputed influence with his bre-"thren to which peculiar advantages of character and "ſituation conducted Dr. Robertſon, his principles are "ſo thoroughly underſtood, and ſo cordially approved by "the great majority of the church of Scotland, that by "means of that attention to the buſineſs and forms of the "houſe which is paid by ſome of his early friends who "yet ſurvive, and by a ſucceſſion of younger men trained "in his ſchool, the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Scotland pro-

" ceed on the ſame orderly ſyſtematical plan which was " firſt introduced by the ability, the prudence, the firm- " neſs, the candour and moderation which he diſplayed " upon every occaſion."

NOTE N. p. 124.

A FEW particulars, " in addition to Dr. Erſkine's " funeral ſermon on the death of Dr. Robertſon," have been kindly communicated to me by my friend the Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart. The teſtimony which they contain to Dr. Robertſon's merits as an eccleſiaſtical leader will have no ſmall weight with thoſe who are acquainted with the worth and the talents of the writer.

" IN mentioning the character of Dr. Robertſon as a " leader of the prevailing party in the church, there is a " circumſtance which ought not to be omitted, by which " he diſtinguiſhed himſelf from all his predeceſſors who " had held the ſame ſituation. Before his time, thoſe of " the clergy who pretended to guide the deliberations of " the General Aſſembly, derived the chief part of their " influence from their connection with the men who had " the management of Scots affairs. They allowed them- " ſelves to receive inſtructions from them, and even from " thoſe who acted under them. They looked up to them " as their patrons, and ranged themſelves with their de- " pendants. Their influence, of conſequence, ſubſiſted " no longer than the powers from which it was derived. " A change in the management of Scots affairs either " left the prevailing party in the church without their " leaders, or obliged their leaders to ſubmit to the mean- " neſs of receiving inſtructions from other patrons.— " Dr. Robertſon, from the beginning, diſengaged himſelf " completely from a dependence which was never reſpect- " able, and to which he felt himſelf ſuperior. He had " the countenance of men in power; but he received it as

" a man who judged for himſelf, and whoſe influence " was his own. The political changes of his time did " not affect his ſituation. The different men who had " the management of Scots affairs uniformly co-operated " with him—but though they aſſiſted him, they looked up " to *his perſonal influence* in the church, which no man " in the country believed to be derived from *them*.

" THOSE who differed moſt in opinion with Dr. Ro- " bertſon, but who are ſincerely attached to the intereſts " and to the integrity of the church, muſt allow this con- " duct to have been both reſpectable and meritorious. " It will always reflect honour on his memory, and has " left an important leſſon to his ſucceſſors.

" IT is not uſeleſs to mention his fairneſs in the debates " of the Aſſembly. Whether his opponents were con- " vinced by his arguments or not, they were commonly " ſenſible of the candour with which he ſtated them, and " of the perſonal reſpect with which they were treated " by him. And though the conceſſions which he was " always ready to make to them when they did not affect " the ſubſtance of his own argument, might be imputed " to political ſagacity as well as to candour, there was " uniformly an appearance of candour in his manner, by " which he preſerved their good opinion, and which " greatly contributed to extend his influence among his " own friends. Like all popular meetings, the General " Aſſembly ſometimes contains individuals, who have " more acuteneſs than delicacy, and who allow them- " ſelves to eke out their arguments by rude and perſonal " invectives. Dr. Robertſon had a ſuperior addreſs in " replying to men of this caſt, without adopting their " aſperity, and often made them feel the abſurdity of the " perſonal attack, by the attention which he ſeemed to " beſtow on their argument.

" IT ſhould be mentioned alſo, that Dr. Robertſon's " early example, and his influence in more advanced life,

" chiefly

" chiefly contributed to render the debates in the aſſembly " intereſting and reſpectable, by bringing forward all the " men of abilities to their natural ſhare of the public buſi- " neſs. Before his time, this had been almoſt entirely in the " hands of the older members of the church, who were " the only perſons that were thought entitled to deliver their " opinions, and whoſe influence was often derived more " from their age than from their judgment or their talents.

" I do not know whether the reaſons, which led Dr. Ro- " bertſon to retire from the aſſembly after 1780, have " ever been thoroughly underſtood.—They were not ſug- " geſted by his age, for he was then only fifty-nine; nor " by any diminution of his influence, for, in the appre- " henſion of the public, it was at that time as great as it " had ever been. It is very probable that he anticipated " a time when a new leader might come forward; and " thought it better to retire while his influence was un- " diminiſhed, than to run the riſque in the end of his " life, of a ſtruggle with younger men, who might be as " ſucceſsful as he had been.—But I recollect diſtinctly, " what he once ſaid to myſelf on the ſubject, which I am " perſuaded he repeated to many others. He had been " often reproached by the more violent men of his party " for not adopting ſtronger meaſures, than he thought " either right or wiſe. He had yielded to them many " points againſt his own judgment; but they were not " ſatisfied: he was plagued with letters of reproach and " remonſtrance on a variety of ſubjects, and he complained " of the petulance and acrimony with which they were " written. But there was one ſubject, which, for ſome " years before he retired, had become particularly uneaſy " to him, and on which he ſaid he had been more urged " and fretted than on all the other ſubjects of contention " in the church; the ſcheme into which many of his " friends entered zealouſly for aboliſhing ſubſcription to " the Confeſſion of Faith and Formula. This he expreſsly " declared his reſolution to reſiſt in every form.—But he

" was ſo much teazed with remonſtrances on the ſubject,
" that he mentioned them as having at leaſt *confirmed* his
" reſolution to retire. He claimed to himſelf the merit of
" having prevented this controverſy from being agitated in
" the aſſemblies; but warned me as a young man that it
" would become the chief controverſy of my time, and
" ſtated to me the reaſons which had determined his opi-
" nion on the ſubject. The converſation was probably
" about 1782 or 1783.—I have a diſtinct recollection of
" it; though I have no idea that his prediction will be
" verified, as the controverſy ſeems to be more aſleep now
" than it was a few years ago."

NOTE O. p. 131.

THE active part which Dr. Robertſon took in the foundation of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, is ſo well known to all the members, that it did not appear neceſſary to recal it to their recollection. For the information of others, however, it may be proper to obſerve here, that the firſt idea of this eſtabliſhment, and of the plan adopted in its formation, was ſuggeſted by him; and that, without his powerful co-operation, there is little probability that the deſign would ever have been carried into effect.

THE zeal with which he promoted the execution of the ſtatiſtical accounts of Scotland has been publickly acknowledged by Sir John Sinclair; and, on the other hand, I have frequently heard Dr. Robertſon expreſs, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his ſenſe of the obligations which the country lay under to the projector and conductor of that great national work; and the pride with which he reflected on the monument which was thus raiſed to the information and liberality of the Scottiſh clergy.

FROM the following letters it would appear, that he had contributed ſome aid to the exertions of thoſe who ſo honourably diſtinguiſhed themſelves a few years ago in the parliamentary diſcuſſions about the African trade. His own ſentiments on that ſubject were eloquently ſtated

thirty

thirty years before, in the only ſermon which he ever publiſhed.

From Mr. WILBERFORCE *to* DR. ROBERTSON.

Sir, London, 25th January, 1788.

I SHALL not begin by apologizing to you for now preſuming to intrude myſelf on you without introduction, but with condemning myſelf for not having done it ſooner. The ſubject which is the occaſion of my troubling you with this letter, that of the Slave Trade, is one on which I am perſuaded our ſentiments coincide, and in calling forth your good offices in ſuch a cauſe I truſt you will think that, whilſt I incur I alſo beſtow an obligation.—What I have to requeſt is, that you will have the goodneſs to communicate to me ſuch facts and obſervations as may be uſeful to me in the important taſk I have undertaken, of bringing forward into parliamentary diſcuſſion, the ſituation of that much injured part of the ſpecies, the poor negroes: in common with the reſt of my countrymen I have to complain, that I am under the neceſſity of betaking myſelf directly to you for the information I ſolicit: an application to my bookſeller ought to have ſupplied it: but if there be ſome ground of charge againſt you for having failed in your engagements to the public in this particular, it is the rather incumbent on you to attend to the claim of an individual; conſider it as a ſort of expiation for your offence, and rejoice if ſo weighty a crime comes off with ſo light a puniſhment.—Though the main object I have in view, is the prevention of all further exports of ſlaves from Africa, yet their ſtate in the Weſt Indies, and the moſt practicable mode of meliorating it, the effects that might follow from this change of ſyſtem in all its extended and complicated connections and relations, both in Africa and the Weſtern World, and this not only in our own caſe but in thoſe of other European nations, who might be induced to follow our example; all theſe come into queſtion, and conſtitute a burden too heavy for one of

powers

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

powers like mine to bear, without my calling for help where it may be ſo abundantly afforded: let me add alſo, that I ſhould be extremely thankful for any intelligence reſpecting the inſtitutions of the Jeſuits in Paraguay, which, it has long ſtruck me, might prove a moſt uſeful ſubject of inveſtigation to any one who would form a plan for the civilization of Africa.—Allow me to add, that I ſhall wait to hear from you with anxiety, becauſe the buſineſs muſt be brought into the Houſe ſoon after the meeting.—I will not waſte your valuable time by excuſes for this letter, if they are neceſſary, but once more I will venture to aſſure myſelf that you will not think them ſo.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. WILBERFORCE.

From Mr. Wilberforce *to* Dr. Robertson.

Sir, Hampſtead, 20th February, 1788.

I HAVE been honoured with your packets by the poſt, as well as with your Sermon, and return you my ſincereſt thanks for your very obliging attention to my requeſt; I am fully ſenſible to the value of the favourable ſentiments you expreſs concerning me, and as one conceſſion always produces a new demand, perhaps you will not be ſurprized at my now taking the liberty of intimating a hope that I may conſider what has paſſed as conſtituting a ſort of acquaintance between us, which it will give me particular pleaſure to indulge an expectation of cultivating, when any opportunity ſhall allow.

I remain, with great reſpect and eſteem, &c.

W. WILBERFORCE.

NOTE P. p. 135.

DR. ROBERTSON's ſecond ſon is now Lieutenant Colonel of the 92d regiment. His name is repeatedly mentioned with diſtinction in the Hiſtory of Lord Cornwallis's Military Operations in India; particularly in the general orders after the ſiege of Nundydroog, where he commanded

commanded in the European flank company that led the aſſault. The following paragraph from Colonel Dirom's Narrative contains a teſtimony to his conduct on this occaſion, which would have been grateful to the feelings of his father had he ſurvived to peruſe it.

" THE carnage which muſt have enſued in clearing the " fort of the enemy, was prevented partly by a number of " the garriſon eſcaping by ropes and ladders over a low " part of the wall; but chiefly by the exertions of Cap- " tain Robertſon; who ſeeing the place was carried, turned " all his attention to preſerving order, and preventing the " unneceſſary effuſion of blood. To his humanity the " bukſhey and killedar owed their lives; and of the gar- " riſon there were only about forty men killed and " wounded."

DR. ROBERTSON's youngeſt ſon is Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment ſerving in Ceylon, and Deputy Adjutant-General of His Majeſty's Forces in that iſland. An account of Ceylon, which he has communicated in manuſcript to ſome of his friends, is ſaid to do great honour to his abilities.

NOTE Q. p. 138.

THIS requeſt was conveyed to Dr. Robertſon by Mr. Dalzel, and was received by him with much ſenſibility, as a mark of the eſteem and approbation of a ſociety over which he had preſided for thirty years.

I NEGLECTED to mention in a former note the Latin diſcourſes which Dr. Robertſon pronounced annually before the Univerſity, in compliance with the eſtabliſhed practice among his predeceſſors in office. The firſt of theſe was read on the third of February 1763. Its object was to recommend the ſtudy of claſſical learning; and it contained, among a variety of other ſplendid paſſages, a beautiful panegyric on the Stoical Philoſophy. His ſecond diſcourſe (9th of February 1764) conſiſted chiefly of moral

moral and literary obfervations, adapted to the particular circumftances of youth. My friend Mr. Dalzel, who has lately perufed thefe Latin manufcripts with care, obferves of this oration, "that the ftyle is uncommonly elegant "and impreffive, and poffeffes all the diftinguifhing cha-"racteriftics of Dr. Robertfon's Englifh compofitions."

A THIRD difcourfe was pronounced on February 14th 1765; and a fourth on February 20th 1766. The fubject of both is the fame; the queftion concerning the comparative advantages of public and private education. The execution is fuch as might be expected from the abilities of the author, exerted on a topic on which he was fo eminently fitted to decide, not only by his profeffional fituation and habits, but by an extenfive and difcriminating knowledge of the world.

THESE annual difcourfes (which never failed to produce a ftrong and happy impreffion on the mind of his young hearers) he was compelled, after this period, to difcontinue by his avocations as an author, and by other engagements which he conceived to be of ftill greater importance.—It is indeed aftonifhing that he was able to devote fo much time as he did to his academical duties; particularly when we confider that all his works were at firft committed to writing in his own hand, and that he feldom, if ever, attempted to dictate to an *amanuenfis*.—It may be gratifying to thofe to whom the literary habits of authors are an object of curiofity to add, that his practice in compofition was (according to his own ftatement in a letter to Mr. Strahan,) "to finifh as near perfection as he was able, fo "that his fubfequent alterations were inconfiderable."

END OF THE LIFE.

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.

Containing a Review of the Scottish *History previous to the Death of* James V.

BOOK I.

The origin of nations fabulous and obscure.

THE first ages of the Scottish History are dark and fabulous. Nations, as well as men, arrive at maturity by degrees, and the events, which happened during their infancy or early youth, cannot be recollected, and deserve not to be remembered. The gross ignorance which anciently covered all the north of Europe, the continual migrations of its inhabitants, and the frequent and destructive revolutions which these occasioned, render it impossible to give any authentic account of the origin of the different kingdoms now established there. Every thing beyond that short period to which well-attested annals reach, is obscure; an immense space is left for invention to occupy; each nation, with a vanity inseparable from human nature, hath filled that void with events calculated to display its own antiquity and lustre.

History,

BOOK I.

Hiftory, which ought to record truth and to teach wifdom, often fets out with retailing fictions and abfurdities.

Origin of the Scots.

The Scots carry their pretenfions to antiquity as high as any of their neighbours. Relying upon uncertain legends, and the traditions of their bards, ftill more uncertain, they reckon up a feries of Kings feveral ages before the birth of Chrift; and give a particular detail of the occurrences which happened in their reigns. But with regard to the Scots, as well as the other northern nations, we receive the earlieft accounts on which we can depend, not from

A.D. 81.

their own, but from the Roman authors. When the Romans, under Agricola, firft carried their arms into the northern parts of Britain, they found it poffeffed by the Caledonians, a fierce and warlike people; and having repulfed, rather than conquered them, they erected a ftrong wall between the firths of Forth and Clyde, and there fixed the boundaries of their empire. Adrian, on account of the difficulty of defend-

A.D. 121.

ing fuch a diftant frontier, contracted the limits of the Roman province in Britain, by building a fecond wall, which ran between Newcaftle and Carlifle. The ambition of fucceeding Emperors endeavoured to recover what Adrian had abandoned; and the country between the two walls was alternately under the dominion of the Romans, and that of the Caledonians. About the beginning of the fifth century, the inroads of the Goths and other barbarians obliged the Romans, in order to defend the centre

centre of their Empire, to recal thofe legions which guarded the frontier provinces; and at that time they quitted all their conquefts in Britain. BOOK I.

THEIR long refidence in the ifland had polifhed, in fome degree, the rude inhabitants, and the Britons were indebted to their intercourfe with the Romans, for the art of writing, and the ufe of numbers, without which it is impoffible long to preferve the memory of paft events. A.D. 421,

NORTH BRITAIN was, by their retreat, left under the dominion of the Scots and Picts. The former, who are not mentioned by any Roman author before the end of the fourth century, were probably a colony of the Celtæ or Gauls: their affinity to whom appears from their language, their manners, and religious rites; circumftances more decifive with regard to the origin of nations, than either fabulous traditions, or the tales of ill-informed and credulous Annalifts. The Scots, if we may believe the common accounts, fettled at firft in Ireland; and, extending themfelves by degrees, landed at laft on the coaft oppofite to that ifland, and fixed their habitations there. Fierce and bloody wars were, during feveral ages, carried on between them and the Picts. At length, Kenneth II., the fixty-ninth King of the Scots, (according to their own fabulous authors) obtained a complete victory over the Picts, and united under one monarchy, all the country, from the wall of Adrian to the northern ocean. The kingdom, henceforward, became known by its prefent A.D. 838.

 name,

BOOK I.

name, which is derived from a people who at firſt ſettled there as ſtrangers, and remained long obſcure and inconſiderable.

History of Scotland peculiarly obſcure.

From this period the Hiſtory of Scotland would merit ſome attention, were it accompanied with any certainty. But as our remote antiquities are involved in the ſame darkneſs with thoſe of other nations, a calamity peculiar to ourſelves has thrown almoſt an equal obſcurity over our more recent tranſactions. This was occaſioned by the malicious policy of Edward I. of England. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, this monarch called in queſtion the independence of Scotland; pretending that the kingdom was held as a fief of the crown of England, and ſubjected to all the conditions of a feudal tenure. In order to eſtabliſh his claim, he ſeized the public archives, he ranſacked churches and monaſteries, and getting poſſeſſion, by force or fraud, of many hiſtorical monuments, which tended to prove the antiquity or freedom of the kingdom, he carried ſome of them into England, and commanded the reſt to be burned[a]. An univerſal oblivion of paſt tranſactions might have been the effect of this fatal event, but ſome imperfect Chronicles had eſcaped the rage of Edward; foreign writers had recorded ſome important facts relating to Scotland; and the traditions concerning recent occurrences were freſh and worthy of credit. Theſe broken fragments John de Fordun,

[a] Innes, Eſſay 552.

who

BOOK I.

who lived in the fourteenth century, collected with a pious induſtry, and from them gleaned materials which he formed into a regular hiſtory. His work was received by his countrymen with applauſe: and, as no recourſe could be had to more ancient records, it ſupplied the place of the authentic annals of the kingdom. It was copied in many monaſteries, and the thread of the narrative was continued by different monks, through the ſubſequent reigns. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, John Major and Hector Boethius publiſhed their hiſtories of Scotland, the former a ſuccinct and dry writer, the latter a copious and florid one, and both equally credulous. Not many years after, Buchanan undertook the ſame work; and if his accuracy and impartiality had been, in any degree, equal to the elegance of his taſte, and to the purity and vigour of his ſtyle, his Hiſtory might be placed on a level with the moſt admired compoſitions of the ancients. But, inſtead of rejecting the improbable tales of Chronicle writers, he was at the utmoſt pains to adorn them; and hath clothed, with all the beauties and graces of fiction, thoſe legends, which formerly had only its wildneſs and extravagance.

Four remarkable æras in the Scottiſh

THE Hiſtory of Scotland may properly be divided into four periods. The firſt reaches from the origin of the monarchy, to the reign of Kenneth II. The ſecond from Kenneth's conqueſt of the Picts, to the death of Alexander III.

The third extends to the death of James V. The laſt, from thence to the acceſſion of James VI. to the crown of England.

THE firſt period is the region of pure fable and conjecture, and ought to be totally neglected, or abandoned to the induſtry and credulity of antiquaries. Truth begins to dawn in the ſecond period, with a light, feeble at firſt, but gradually increaſing, and the events which then happened may be ſlightly touched, but merit no particular or laborious inquiry. In the third period, the Hiſtory of Scotland, chiefly by means of records preſerved in England, becomes more authentic: not only are events related, but their cauſes and effects explained; the characters of the actors are diſplayed; the manners of the age deſcribed; the revolutions in the conſtitution pointed out: and here every Scotſman ſhould begin not to read only, but to ſtudy the hiſtory of his country. During the fourth period, the affairs of Scotland were ſo mingled with thoſe of other nations, its ſituation in the political ſtate of Europe was ſo important, its influence on the operations of the neighbouring kingdoms was ſo viſible, that its hiſtory becomes an object of attention to foreigners; and without ſome knowledge of the various and extraordinary revolutions which happened there, they cannot form a juſt notion with reſpect either to the moſt illuſtrious events, or to the characters of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages, in the ſixteenth century.

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THE following hiftory is confined to the laft of thefe periods: to give a view of the political ftate of the kingdom during that which immediately preceded it, is the defign of this preliminary Book. The imperfect knowledge which ftrangers have of the affairs of Scotland, and the prejudices Scotfmen themfelves have imbibed with regard to the various revolutions in the government of their country, render fuch an introduction equally neceffary to both.

A review of the third æra.

THE period from the death of Alexander III. to the death of James V. contains upwards of two centuries and a half, from the year one thoufand two hundred and eighty-fix, to the year one thoufand five hundred and forty-two.

Rife of the controverfy concerning the independence of Scotland.

IT opens with the famous controverfy concerning the independence of Scotland. Before the union of the two kingdoms, this was a queftion of much importance. If the one crown had been confidered not as imperial and independent, but as feudatory to the other, a treaty of union could not have been concluded on equal terms, and every advantage which the dependent kingdom procured, muft have been deemed the conceffion of a Sovereign to his vaffal. Accordingly, about the beginning of the prefent century, and while a treaty of union between the two kingdoms was negociating, this controverfy was agitated with all the heat which national animofities naturally infpire. What was then the fubject of ferious concern, the union of the two kingdoms had rendered a matter of mere curiofity. But though the objects which at that

BOOK I. time warmed and interested both nations, exist no longer, a question which appeared so momentous to our ancestors cannot be altogether indifferent or uninstructive to us.

Some of the northern counties of England were early in the hands of the Scottish Kings, who, as far back as the feudal customs can be traced, held these possessions of the Kings of England, and did homage to them on that account. This homage, due only for the territories which they held in England, was in no wise derogatory from their royal dignity. Nothing is more suitable to feudal ideas, than that the same person should be both a lord and a vassal, independent in one capacity, and dependent in another[b]. The crown of England was, without doubt, imperial and independent, though the Princes who wore it were, for many ages, the vassals of the Kings of France; and, in consequence of their possessions in that kingdom, bound to perfom all the services which a feudal Sovereign has a title to exact. The same

[b] A very singular proof of this occurs in the French history. Arpin sold the vicomté of the city of Bourges to Philip I. who did homage to the Count of Sancerre for a part of these lands, which held of that nobleman, A. D. 1100. I believe that no example, of a King's doing homage to one of his own subjects, is to be met with in the histories either of England or Scotland. Philip le Bel abolished this practice in France, A. D. 1302. *Henaut Abregé Chronol.* Somewhat similar to this, is a charter of the Abbot of Melrofs, A. D. 1535, constituting James V. the Bailiff or Steward of that Abbey, vesting in him all the powers which pertained to that office, and requiring him to be answerable to the Abbot for his exercise of the same. *Archiv. publ. Edin.*

was the condition of the Monarchs of Scotland; free and independent as Kings of their own country, but, as poſſeſſing Engliſh territories, vaſſals to the King of England. The Engliſh Monarchs, ſatisfied with their legal and uncontroverted rights, were, during a long period, neither capable, nor had any thoughts of uſurping more. England, when conquered by the Saxons, being divided by them into many ſmall kingdoms, was in no condition to extend its dominion over Scotland, united at that time under one monarch. And though theſe petty principalities were gradually formed into one kingdom, the reigning Princes, expoſed to continual invaſions of the Danes, and often ſubjected to the yoke of thoſe formidable pirates, ſeldom turned their arms towards Scotland, and were little able to eſtabliſh new rights in that country. The firſt Kings of the Norman race, buſied with introducing their own laws and manners into the kingdom which they had conquered, or with maintaining themſelves on the throne which ſome of them poſſeſſed by a very dubious title, were as little ſolicitous to acquire new authority, or to form new pretenſions in Scotland. An unexpected calamity that befel one of the Scottiſh Kings firſt encouraged the Engliſh to think of bringing his kingdom under dependence. William, ſurnamed the Lion, being taken priſoner at Alnwick, Henry II., as the price of his liberty, not only extorted from him an exorbitant ranſom, and a promiſe to ſurrender the places of greateſt ſtrength in his dominions, but compelled him to

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do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard I., a generous Prince, ſolemnly renounced this claim of homage, and abſolved William from the hard conditions which Henry had impoſed. Upon the death of Alexander III., near a century after, Edward I., availing himſelf of the ſituation of affairs in Scotland, acquired an influence in that kingdom which no Engliſh Monarch before him ever poſſeſſed, and, imitating the intereſted policy of Henry, rather than the magnanimity of Richard, revived the claim of ſovereignty to which the former had pretended.

Pretenſions of Bruce and Baliol examined.

MARGARET of Norway, grand-daughter of Alexander, and heir to his crown, did not long ſurvive him. The right of ſucceſſion belonged to the deſcendants of David Earl of Huntingdon, third ſon of King David I. Among theſe, Robert Bruce, and John Baliol, two illuſtrious competitors for the crown appeared. Bruce was the ſon of Iſabel, Earl David's ſecond daughter; Baliol, the grandſon of Margaret the eldeſt daughter. According to the rules of ſucceſſion which are now eſtabliſhed, the right of Baliol was preferable, and, notwithſtanding Bruce's plea of being nearer in blood to Earl David, Baliol's claim, as the repreſentative of his mother and grandmother, would be deemed inconteſtible. But in that age the order of ſucceſſion was not aſcertained with the ſame preciſion. The queſtion appeared to be no leſs intricate, than it was important. Though the prejudices of the people, and perhaps the laws of the kingdom, favoured Bruce, each of the

the rivals was ſupported by a powerful faction. Arms alone, it was feared, muſt terminate a diſpute too weighty for the laws to decide. But, in order to avoid the miſeries of a civil war, Edward was choſen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquieſce in his decree. This had well nigh proved fatal to the independence of Scotland; and the nation, by its eagerneſs to guard againſt a civil war, was not only expoſed to that calamity, but almoſt ſubjected to a foreign yoke. Edward was artful, brave, enterpriſing, and commanded a powerful and martial people, at peace with the whole world. The anarchy which prevailed in Scotland, and the ambition of competitors ready to ſacrifice their country in order to obtain even a dependent Crown, invited him firſt to ſeize, and then to ſubject the kingdom. The authority of an umpire, which had been unwarily beſtowed upon him, and from which the Scots dreaded no dangerous conſequences, enabled him to execute his ſchemes with the greater facility. Under pretence of examining the queſtion with the utmoſt ſolemnity, he ſummoned all the Scottiſh Barons to Norham, and having gained ſome and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were preſent, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the competitors, to acknowledge Scotland to be a fief of the Engliſh Crown, and to ſwear fealty to him as their *Sovereign* or *Liege Lord*. This ſtep lead to another ſtill more important. As it was vain to pronounce a ſentence which he had not power to execute, Edward

BOOK I.

ward demanded poſſeſſion of the kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it to him whoſe right ſhould be found preferable; and ſuch was the puſillanimity of the nobles, and the impatient ambition of the competitors, that both aſſented to this ſtrange demand, and Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, was the only man who refuſed to ſurrender the caſtles in his cuſtody to the enemy of his country. Edward finding Baliol the moſt obſequious and the leaſt formidable of the two competitors, ſoon after gave judgment in his favour. Baliol once more profeſſed himſelf the vaſſal of England, and ſubmitted to every condition which the Sovereign whom he had now acknowledged was pleaſed to preſcribe.

Edward, having thus placed a creature of his own upon the throne of Scotland, and compelled the nobles to renounce the ancient liberties and independence of their country, had reaſon to conclude that his dominion was now fully eſtabliſhed. But he began too ſoon to aſſume the maſter; his new vaſſals, fierce and independent, bore with impatience a yoke, to which they were not accuſtomed. Provoked by his haughtineſs, even the paſſive ſpirit of Baliol began to mutiny. But Edward, who had no longer uſe for ſuch a pageant King, forced him to reſign the crown, and openly attempted to ſeize it as fallen to himſelf by the rebellion of his vaſſal. At that critical period aroſe Sir William Wallace, a hero, to whom the fond admiration of his countrymen hath aſcribed many

fabulous

fabulous acts of prowefs, though his real valour, as well as integrity and wifdom, are fuch as need not the heightenings of fiction. He, almoft fingle, ventured to take arms in defence of the kingdom, and his boldnefs revived the fpirit of his countrymen. At laft, Robert Bruce, the grandfon of him who ftood in competition with Baliol, appeared to affert his own rights, and to vindicate the honour of his country. The nobles, afhamed of their former bafenefs, and enraged at the many indignities offered to the nation, crowded to his ftandard. In order to crufh him at once, the Englifh Monarch entered Scotland, at the head of a mighty army. Many battles were fought, and the Scots, though often vanquifhed, were not fubdued. The ardent zeal with which the nobles contended for the independence of the kingdom, the prudent valour of Bruce, and above all a national enthufiafm infpired by fuch a caufe, baffled the repeated efforts of Edward, and counterbalanced all the advantages which he derived from the number and wealth of his fubjects. Though the war continued with little intermiffion upwards of feventy years, Bruce and his pofterity kept poffeffion of the throne of Scotland, and reigned with an authority not inferior to that of its former monarchs.

But while the fword, the ultimate judge of all difputes between contending nations, was employed to terminate this controverfy, neither Edward nor the Scots feemed to diftruft the juftice of their caufe; and both appealed to

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BOOK I. history and records, and from these produced, in their own favour, such evidence as they pretended to be unanswerable. The letters and memorials addressed by each party to the Pope, who was then reverenced as the common father, and often appealed to as the common judge of all Christian Princes, are still extant. The fabulous tales of the early British history; the partial testimony of ignorant Chroniclers; suppostitious treaties and charters; are the proofs on which Edward founded his title to the sovereignty of Scotland; and the homage done by the Scottish Monarchs for their lands in England is preposterously supposed to imply the subjection of their whole kingdom [c]. Ill-founded, however, as their right was, the English did not fail to revive it, in all the subsequent quarrels between the two kingdoms; while the Scots disclaimed it with the utmost indignation. To this we must impute the fierce and implacable hatred to each other, which long inflamed both. Their national antipathies were excited, not only by the usual circumstances of frequent hostilities, and reciprocal injuries; but the English considered the Scots as vassals who had presumed to rebel, and the Scots, in their turn, regarded the English as usurpers who aimed at enslaving their country.

1306. State of the kingdom when Bruce began his reign.

At the time when Robert Bruce began his reign in Scotland, the same form of government

[c] Anderson's Historical Essay concerning the Independency, &c.

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was eſtabliſhed in all the kingdoms of Europe. This ſurpriſing ſimilarity in their conſtitution and laws demonſtrates that the nations which overturned the Roman Empire, and erected theſe kingdoms, though divided into different tribes, and diſtinguiſhed by different names, were either derived originally from the ſame ſource, or had been placed in ſimilar ſituations. When we take a view of the feudal ſyſtem of laws and policy, that ſtupendous and ſingular fabric erected by them, the firſt object that ſtrikes us is the King. And when we are told that he is the ſole proprietor of all the lands within his dominions, that all his ſubjects derive their poſſeſſions from him, and in return conſecrate their lives to his ſervice; when we hear that all marks of diſtinction, and titles of dignity, flow from him as the only fountain of honour; when we behold the moſt potent peers, on their bended knees, and with folded hands, ſwearing fealty at his feet, and acknowledging him to be their *Sovereign* and their *Liege Lord;* we are apt to pronounce him a powerful, nay an abſolute monarch. No concluſion, however, would be more raſh, or worſe founded. The genius of the feudal government was purely ariſtocratical. With all the enſigns of royalty, and with many appearances of deſpotic power, a feudal King was the moſt limited of all Princes.

Origin of the feudal government, and its ariſtocratical genius.

Before they ſallied out of their own habitations to conquer the world, many of the northern nations ſeemed not to have been ſubject

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI

BOOK I. ject to the government of Kings[d]; and even where monarchical government was eftablifhed, the Prince poffeffed but little authority. A General, rather than a King, his military command was extenfive, his civil jurifdiction almoft nothing[e]. The army which he led was not compofed of foldiers, who could be compelled to ferve, but of fuch as voluntarily followed his ftandard[f]. Thefe conquered not for their leader, but for themfelves; and being free in their own country, renounced not their liberty when they acquired new fettlements. They did not exterminate the ancient inhabitants of the countries which they fubdued, but feizing the greater part of their lands, they took their perfons under protection. The difficulty of maintaining a new conqueft, as well as the danger of being attacked by new invaders, rendering it neceffary to be always in a pofture of defence, the form of government which they eftablifhed was altogether military, and nearly refembled that to which they had been accuftomed in their native country. Their General ftill continuing to be the head of the colony, part of the conquered lands were allotted to him; the remainder, under the name of *beneficia* or *fiefs*, was divided among his principal officers. As the common fafety required that thefe officers fhould, upon all occafions, be ready to appear in arms, for the common defence, and fhould continue obedient to their

[d] Cæf. lib. vi. c. 23. [e] Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 7. 11.
[f] Cæf. ibid.

General, they bound themſelves to take the field, when called, and to ſerve him with a number of men, in proportion to the extent of their territory. Theſe great officers again parcelled out their lands among their followers, and annexed the ſame condition to the grant. A feudal kingdom was properly the encampment of a great army; military ideas predominated, military ſubordination was eſtabliſhed, and the poſſeſſion of land was the pay which ſoldiers received for their perſonal ſervice. In conſequence of theſe notions, the poſſeſſion of land was granted during pleaſure only, and Kings were elective. In other words, an officer diſagreeable to his General was deprived of his pay, and the perſon who was moſt capable of conducting an army was choſen to command it. Such were the firſt rudiments or infancy of feudal government.

General cauſes which limited the power of the feudal monarchs.

But long before the beginning of the fourteenth century, the feudal ſyſtem had undergone many changes, of which the following were the moſt conſiderable. Kings, formerly elective, were then hereditary; and fiefs, granted at firſt during pleaſure, deſcended from father to ſon, and were become perpetual. Theſe changes, not leſs advantageous to the nobles than to the Prince, made no alteration in the ariſtocratical ſpirit of the feudal conſtitution. The King, who at a diſtance ſeemed to be inveſted with majeſty and power, appears, on a nearer view, to poſſeſs almoſt none of thoſe advantages which beſtow on monarchs their grandeur and authority.

BOOK I. thority. His revenues were ſcanty; he had not a ſtanding army; and the juriſdiction he poſſeſſed was circumſcribed within very narrow limits.

Their revenues were ſmall.

At a time when pomp and ſplendor were little known, even in the palaces of Kings; when the officers of the crown received ſcarcely any ſalary beſides the fees and perquiſites of their office; when embaſſies to foreign courts were rare; when armies were compoſed of ſoldiers who ſerved without pay; it was not neceſſary that a King ſhould poſſeſs a great revenue; nor did the condition of Europe, in thoſe ages, allow its Princes to be opulent. Commerce made little progreſs in the kingdoms where the feudal government was eſtabliſhed. Inſtitutions, which had no other object but to inſpire a martial ſpirit, to train men to be ſoldiers, and to make arms the only honourable profeſſion, naturally diſcouraged the commercial arts. The revenues, ariſing from the taxes, impoſed on the different branches of commerce, were by conſequence inconſiderable; and the Prince's treaſury received little ſupply from a ſource, which, among a trading people, flows with ſuch abundance, as is almoſt inexhauſtible. A fixed tax was not levied even on land; ſuch a burthen would have appeared intolerable to men who received their eſtates as the reward of their valour, and who conſidered their ſervice in the field as a full retribution for what they poſſeſſed. The King's *demeſnes*, or the portion of land which he ſtill retained in his own hands unalienated, furniſhed ſubſiſtence to his court, and

defrayed the ordinary expence of government [g]. The only ftated taxes which the feudal law obliged vaffals to pay to the King, or to thofe of whom they held their lands, were three: one when his eldeft fon was made a knight; another when his eldeft daughter was married; and a third in order to ranfom him if he fhould happen to be taken prifoner. Befides thefe, the King received the feudal cafualties of the ward, marriage, &c. of his own vaffals. And, on fome extraordinary occafions, his fubjects granted him an aid, which they diftinguifhed by the name of a *benevolence*, in order to declare that he received it not in confequence of any right, but as a gift, flowing from their good will [h]. All thefe added together, produced a revenue fo fcanty and precarious, as naturally incited a feudal monarch to aim at diminifhing the exorbitant power and wealth of the nobility, but, inftead of enabling him to carry on his fchemes with full effect, kept him in continual indigence, anxiety, and dependence.

They had no ftanding armies.

NOR could the King fupply the defect of his revenues by the terror of his arms. Mercenary troops and ftanding armies were unknown, as long as the feudal government fubfifted in vigour. Europe was peopled with foldiers. The vaffals of the King, and the fub-vaffals of the barons, were all obliged to carry arms. While the poverty of Princes prevented them from

[g] Craig. de Feud. lib. i. Dieg. 14. Du Cange Gloff. voc. Dominicum. [h] Du Cange voc. Auxilium.

 fortifying

BOOK I.

fortifying their frontier towns, while a campaign continued but a few weeks, and while a fierce and impetuous courage was impatient to bring every quarrel to the decision of a battle, an army, without pay, and with little discipline, was sufficient for all the purposes both of the security and of the glory of the nation. Such an army, however, far from being an engine at the King's disposal, was often no less formidable to him, than to his enemies. The more warlike any people were, the more independent they became; and the same persons being both soldiers and subjects, civil privileges and immunities were the consequence of their victories, and the reward of their martial exploits. Conquerors, whom mercenary armies, under our present forms of government, often render the tyrants of their own people, as well as the scourges of mankind, were commonly, under the feudal constitution, the most indulgent of all Princes to their subjects, because they stood most in need of their assistance. A Prince, whom even war and victories did not render the master of his own army, possessed hardly any shadow of military power during times of peace. His disbanded soldiers mingled with his other subjects; not a single man received pay from him; many ages elapsed even before a guard was appointed to defend his person; and destitute of that great instrument of dominion, a standing army, the authority of the King continued always feeble, and was often contemptible.

BOOK I.

Their jurisdiction was limited.

Nor were these the only circumstances which contributed towards depressing the regal power. By the feudal system, as has been already observed, the King's judicial authority was extremely circumscribed. At first, Princes seem to have been the supreme judges of their people, and in person, heard a determined all controversies among them. The multiplicity of causes soon made it necessary to appoint judges, who, in the King's name, decided matters that belonged to the royal jurisdiction. But the barbarians, who over-ran Europe, having destroyed most of the great cities, and the countries which they seized being cantoned out among powerful chiefs, who were blindly followed by numerous dependants, whom, in return, they were bound to protect from every injury; the administration of justice was greatly interrupted, and the execution of any legal sentence became almost impracticable. Theft, rapine, murder and disorder of all kinds prevailed in every kingdom of Europe, to a degree almost incredible, and scarcely compatible with the subsistence of civil society. Every offender sheltered himself under the protection of some powerful chieftain, who screened him from the pursuits of justice. To apprehend, and to punish a criminal, often required the union and effort of half a kingdom[i]. In order to remedy these

[i] A remarkable instance of this occurs in the following history, so late as the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-one. Mary, having appointed a court of justice to be held on the borders, the inhabitants of no less than eleven counties were summoned

BOOK I.

these evils, many persons of distinction were entrusted with the administration of justice within their own territories. But what we may presume was, at first, only a temporary grant, or a personal privilege, the incroaching spirit of the nobles gradually converted into a right, and rendered hereditary. The lands of some were, in process of time, erected into *Baronies*, those of other into *Regalities*. The jurisdiction of the former was extensive; that of the latter, as the name implies, royal and almost unbounded. All causes, whether civil or criminal, were tried by judges, whom the lord of the regality appointed; and if the King's courts called any person within his territory before them, the lord of regality

summoned to guard the person who was to act as judge, and to enable him to enforce his decisions. The words of a proclamation, which afford such convincing proof of the feebleness of the feudal government, deserve our notice—"And because it is necessary for the execution of Her Highness' commandments and service, that her justice be well accompanied, and her authority sufficiently fortified, by the concurrence of a good power of her faithful subjects—Therefore commands and charges all and sundry Earls, Lords, Barons, Freeholders, Landed-men, and other Gentlemen, dwelling within the said counties, that they, and every one of them, with their kin, friends, servants, and household-men, well bodin in feir of war in the most substantious manner, [i.e. completely armed and provided,] and with twenty days victuals, to meet and to pass forward with him to the borough of Jedburgh, and there to remain during the said space of twenty days, and to receive such direction and commands as shall be given by him to them in our Sovereign Lady's name, for quietness of the country: and to put the same in execution under the pain of losing their life, lands, and goods." Keith's Hist. of Scotland, 198.

might

might put a ſtop to their proceedings, and by the privilege of *repledging*, remove the cauſe to his own court, and even puniſh his vaſſal, if he ſubmitted to a foreign juriſdiction[k]. Thus almoſt every queſtion, in which any perſon who reſided on the lands of the nobles was intereſted, being determined by judges appointed by the nobles themſelves, their vaſſals were hardly ſenſible of being, in any degree, ſubject to the crown. A feudal kingdom was ſplit into many ſmall principalities, almoſt independent, and held together by a feeble and commonly an imperceptible bond of union. The King was not only ſtripped of the authority annexed to the perſon of a ſupreme judge, but his revenue ſuffered no ſmall diminution, by the loſs of thoſe pecuniary emoluments, which were, in that age, due to the perſon who adminiſtered juſtice.

In the ſame proportion that the King ſunk in power, the nobles roſe towards independence. Not ſatisfied with having obtained a hereditary right to their fiefs, which they formerly held during pleaſure, their ambition aimed at ſomething bolder, and by introducing *entails*, endeavoured, as far as human ingenuity and invention can reach that end, to render their poſſeſſions unalienable and everlaſting. As they had full power to add to the inheritance tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors, but none to diminiſh it, time alone, by means of marriages, legacies, and other accidents, brought continual acceſſions

[k] Craig, lib. iii. Dieg. 7.

BOOK I. of wealth, and of dignity; a great family, like a river, became confiderable from the length of its courfe, and as it rolled on, new honours and new property flowed fucceffively into it. Whatever influence is derived from titles of honour, the feudal barons likewife poffeffed in an ample manner. Thefe marks of diftinction are, in their own nature, either official or perfonal, and being annexed to a particular charge, or beftowed by the admiration of mankind upon illuftrious characters, ought to be appropriated to thefe. But the fon, however unworthy, could not bear to be ftripped of that appellation by which his father had been diftinguifhed. His prefumption claimed what his virtue did not merit; titles of honour became hereditary, and added new luftre to nobles already in poffeffion of too much power. Something more audacious and more extravagant ftill remained. The fupreme direction of all affairs, both civil and military, being committed to the great officers of the crown, the fame and fafety of Princes, as well as of their people, depended upon the fidelity and abilities of thefe officers. But fuch was the prepofterous ambition of the nobles, and fo fuccefsful even in their wildeft attempts to aggrandize themfelves, that in all the kingdoms where the feudal inftitutions prevailed, moft of the chief officers of ftate were annexed to great families, and held, like fiefs, by hereditary right. A perfon whofe undutiful behaviour rendered him odious to his Prince, or whofe incapacity expofed him to the contempt of the people, often held a place of power and

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truſt of the greateſt importance to both. In Scotland, the offices of Lord Juſtice General, Great Chamberlain, High Steward, High Conſtable, Earl Marſhal, and High Admiral, were all hereditary; and in many counties, the office of Sheriff was held in the ſame manner.

Nobles, whoſe property was ſo extenſive, and whoſe power was ſo great, could not fail of being turbulent and formidable. Nor did they want inſtruments for executing their boldeſt deſigns. That portion of their lands, which they parcelled out among their followers, ſupplied them with a numerous band of faithful and determined vaſſals; while that which they retained in their own hands, enabled them to live with a princely ſplendor. The great hall of an ambitious baron was often more crowded than the court of his Sovereign. The ſtrong caſtles in which they reſided, afforded a ſecure retreat to the diſcontented and ſeditious. A great part of their revenue was ſpent upon multitudes of indigent, but bold retainers. And if at any time they left their retreat to appear in the court of their Sovereign, they were accompanied, even in times of peace, with a vaſt train of armed followers. The uſual retinue of William the ſixth Earl of Douglas conſiſted of two thouſand horſe. Thoſe of the other nobles were magnificent and formidable in proportion. Impatient of ſubordination, and forgetting their proper rank, ſuch potent and haughty barons were the rivals, rather than the ſubjects of their Prince. They often deſpiſed his orders, inſulted his perſon, and

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BOOK I.

wrested from him his crown. The history of Europe, during several ages, contains little else but the accounts of the wars and revolutions occasioned by their exorbitant ambition.

Their power greater in Scotland than in any other kingdom.

BUT, if the authority of the barons far exceeded its proper bounds in the other nations of Europe, we may affirm that the balance which ought to be preserved between a King and his nobles was almost entirely lost in Scotland. The Scottish nobles enjoyed, in common with those of other nations, all the means for extending their authority which arise from the aristocratical genius of the feudal government. Besides these, they possessed advantages peculiar to themselves: the accidental sources of their power were considerable; and singular circumstances concurred with the spirit of the constitution to aggrandize them. To enumerate the most remarkable of these, will serve both to explain the political state of the kingdom, and to illustrate many important occurrences, in the period now under our review.

The particular causes of this.

The nature of the country.

I. THE nature of their country was one cause of the power and independence of the Scottish nobility. Level and open countries are formed for servitude. The authority of the supreme magistrate reaches with ease to the most distant corners; and when nature has erected no barrier, and affords no retreat, the guilty or obnoxious are soon detected and punished. Mountains, and fens, and rivers, set bounds to despotic power, and amidst these is the natural seat of freedom and independence. In such places

places did the Scottifh nobles ufually fix their refidence. By retiring to his own caftle, a mutinous baron could defy the power of his fovereign, it being almoft impracticable to lead an army, through a barren country, to places of difficult accefs to a fingle man. The fame caufes which checked the progrefs of the Roman arms, and rendered all the efforts of Edward I. abortive, often protected the Scottifh nobles from the vengeance of their Prince; and they owed their perfonal independence to thofe very mountains and marfhes which faved their country from being conquered.

The fmall number of great cities.

II. The want of great cities in Scotland contributed not a little to increafe the power of the nobility, and to weaken that of the Prince. Wherever numbers of men affemble together, order muft be eftablifhed, and a regular form of government inftituted; the authority of the magiftrate muft be recognifed, and his decifions meet with prompt and full obedience. Laws and fubordination take rife in cities; and where there are few cities as in Poland, or none as in Tartary, there are few or no traces of a well-arranged police. But under the feudal governments, commerce, the chief means of affembling mankind, was neglected; the nobles, in order to ftrengthen their influence over their vaffals, refided among them, and feldom appeared at court, where they found a fuperior, or dwelt in cities, where they met with equals. In Scotland, the fertile counties in the South lying open to the Englifh, no town fituated there could

BOOK I.

could riſe to be great or populous amidſt continual inroads and alarms; the reſidence of our monarchs was not fixed to any particular place; many parts of the country were barren and uncultivated; and in conſequence of theſe peculiar circumſtances, added to the general cauſes flowing from the nature of the feudal inſtitutions, the towns in Scotland were extremely few, and very inconſiderable. The vaſſals of every baron occupied a diſtinct portion of the kingdom, and formed a ſeparate and almoſt independent ſociety. Inſtead of giving aid towards reducing to obedience their ſeditious chieftain, or any whom he took under his protection, they were all in arms for his defence, and obſtructed the operations of juſtice to the utmoſt. The Prince was obliged to connive at criminals whom he could not reach; the nobles, conſcious of this advantage, were not afraid to offend; and the difficulty of puniſhing almoſt aſſured them of impunity.

The inſtitution of clans.

III. The diviſion of the country into clans had no ſmall effect in rendering the nobles conſiderable. The nations which over-ran Europe were originally divided into many ſmall tribes; and when they came to parcel out the lands which they had conquered, it was natural for every chieftain to beſtow a portion, in the firſt place, upon thoſe of his own tribe or family. Theſe all held their lands of him; and as the ſafety of each individual depended on the general union, theſe ſmall ſocieties clung together, and were diſtinguiſhed by ſome common appellation,

appellation, either patronimical, or local, long before the introduction of furnames, or *enfigns armorial.* But when thefe became common, the defcendants and relations of every chieftain affumed the fame name and arms with him; other vaffals were proud to imitate their example, and by degrees they were communicated to all thofe who held of the fame fuperior. Thus clanfhips were formed; and in a generation or two, that confanguinity, which was, at firft, in a great meafure, imaginary, was believed to be real. An artificial union was converted into a natural one; men willingly followed a leader, whom they regarded both as the fuperior of their lands, and the chief of their blood, and ferved him not only with the fidelity of vaffals, but with the affection of friends. In the other feudal kingdoms, we may obferve fuch unions as we have defcribed imperfectly formed; but in Scotland, whether they were the production of chance, or the effect of policy, or introduced by the Irifh colony above mentioned, and ftrengthened by carefully preferving their genealogies both genuine and fabulous, clanfhips were univerfal. Such a confederacy might be overcome, it could not be broken; and no change of manners, or of government, has been able, in fome parts of the kingdom, to diffolve affociations which are founded upon prejudices fo natural to the human mind. How formidable were nobles at the head of followers, who, counting that caufe juft and honourable which their chief approved, rufhed into the field at his command,

BOOK I.

mand, ever ready to ſacrifice their lives in defence of his perſon or of his fame; againſt ſuch men a King contended with great diſadvantage; and that cold ſervice which money purchaſes, or authority extorts, was not an equal match for their ardour and zeal.

The ſmall number of the nobles.

IV. The ſmallneſs of their number may be mentioned among the cauſes of the grandeur of the Scottiſh nobles. Our annals reach not back to the firſt diviſion of property in the kingdom; but ſo far as we can trace the matter, the original poſſeſſions of the nobles ſeem to have been extenſive. The ancient Thanes were the equals and the rivals of their Prince. Many of the earls and barons, who ſucceeded them, were maſters of territories no leſs ample. France and England, countries wide and fertile, afforded ſettlements to a numerous and powerful nobility. Scotland, a kingdom neither extenſive nor rich, could not contain many ſuch overgrown proprietors. But the power of an ariſtocracy always diminiſhes, in proportion to the increaſe of its numbers; feeble if divided among a multitude, irreſiſtible if centered in a few. When nobles are numerous, their operations nearly reſemble thoſe of the people; they are rouſed only by what they feel, not by what they apprehend; and ſubmit to many arbitrary and oppreſſive acts, before they take arms againſt their ſovereign, A ſmall body, on the contrary, is more ſenſible, and more impatient; quick in diſcerning, and prompt in repelling danger, all its motions are as ſudden as thoſe of the other are ſlow. Hence

proceeded the extreme jealoufy with which the Scottifh nobles obferved their monarchs, and the fiercenefs with which they oppofed their incroachments. Even the virtue of a prince did not render them lefs vigilant, or lefs eager to defend their rights; and Robert Bruce, notwithftanding the fplendour of his victories and the glory of his name, was upon the point of experiencing the vigour of their refiftance, no lefs than his unpopular defcendant James III. Befides this, the near alliance of the great families, by frequent intermarriages, was the natural confequence of their fmall number; and as confanguinity was, in thofe ages, a powerful bond of union, all the kindred of a nobleman interefted themfelves in his quarrel, as a common caufe; and every conteft the King had, though with a fingle baron, foon drew upon him the arms of a whole confederacy.

Their leagues and combinations.

V. THOSE natural connexions, both with their equals and with their inferiors, the Scottifh nobles ftrengthened by a device, which, if not peculiar to themfelves, was at leaft more frequent among them, than in any other nation. Even in times of profound peace, they formed affociations, which, when made with their equals, were called *leagues of mutual defence*; and when with their inferiors, *bonds of manrent*. By the former, the contracting parties bound themfelves mutually to affift each other, in all caufes and againft all perfons. By the latter, protection was ftipulated on the one hand, and fidelity and

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS...

BOOK I.

and perſonal ſervice promiſed on the other[i]. Self-preſervation, it is probable, forced men at firſt into theſe confederacies; and while diſorder and rapine were univerſal, while government was unſettled, and the authority of laws little known or regarded, near neighbours found it neceſſary to unite in this manner for their ſecurity, and the weak were obliged to court the patronage of the ſtrong. By degrees, theſe aſſociations became ſo many alliances offenſive and defenſive againſt the throne; and as their obligation was held to be more ſacred than any tie whatever, they gave much umbrage to our Kings, and contributed not a little to the power and independence of the nobility. In the reign of James II. William the eighth Earl of Douglas entered into a league of this kind with the Earls of Crawford, Roſs, Murray, Ormond, the Lords Hamilton, Balveny, and other powerful barons; and ſo formidable was this combination to the King, that he had recourſe to a meaſure no leſs violent than unjuſt, in order to diſſolve it.

The frequent wars with England.

VI. The frequent wars between England and Scotland proved another cauſe of augmenting the power of the nobility. Nature has placed no barrier between the two kingdoms; a river, almoſt every where fordable, divides them towards the eaſt: on the weſt they are ſeparated by an imaginary line. The ſlender revenues of our Kings prevented them from fortifying, or placing garriſons in the towns on the frontier; nor would

[i] Act 30. Parl. 1424. Act 43. Parl. 1555.

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the jealoufy of their fubjects have permitted fuch a method of defence. The barons, whofe eftates lay near the borders, confidered themfelves as bound both in honour and in intereft to repel the enemy. The *wardenfhips* of the different *marches*, offices of great power and dignity, were generally beftowed on them. This gained them the leading of the warlike counties in the fouth; and their vaffals, living in a ftate of perpetual hoftility, or enjoying at beft an infecure peace, became more inured to war than even the reft of their countrymen, and more willing to accompany their chieftain in his moft hardy and dangerous enterprifes. It was the valour, no lefs than the number of their followers, that rendered the Douglafes great. The nobles in the northern and midland counties were often dutiful and obfequious to the crown, but our Monarchs always found it impracticable to fubdue the mutinous and ungovernable fpirit of the borderers. In all our domeftic quarrels, thofe who could draw to their fide the inhabitants of the fouthern counties, were almoft fure of victory; and, confcious of this advantage, the lords who poffeffed authority there, were apt to forget the duty which they owed their fovereign, and to afpire beyond the rank of fubjects.

The frequent minorities which happened in Scotland.

VII. THE calamities which befel our Kings contributed more than any other caufe to diminifh the royal authority. Never was any race of monarchs fo unfortunate as the Scottifh. Of fix fucceffive Princes, from Robert III. to James VI. not one died a natural death; and the

BOOK I.

the minorities, during that time, were longer, and more frequent, than ever happened in any other kingdom. From Robert Bruce to James VI. we reckon ten Princes; and feven of thefe were called to the throne while they were minors, and almoft infants. Even the moft regular and beft eftablifhed governments feel fenfibly the pernicious effects of a minority, and either become languid and inactive, or are thrown into violent and unnatural convulfions. But under the imperfect and ill-adjufted fyftem of government in Scotland, thefe effects were ftill more fatal; the fierce and mutinous fpirit of the nobles, unreftrained by the authority of a King, fcorned all fubjection to the delegated jurifdiction of a Regent, or to the feeble commands of a minor. The royal authority was circumfcribed within narrower limits than ever; the prerogatives of the crown, naturally inconfiderable, were reduced almoft to nothing; and the ariftocratical power gradually rofe upon the ruins of the monarchical. Left the perfonal power of a Regent fhould enable him to act with too much vigour, the authority annexed to that office was fometimes rendered inconfiderable, by being divided; or, if a fingle Regent was chofen, the greater nobles, and the heads of the more illuftrious families, were feldom raifed to that dignity. It was often conferred upon men who poffeffed little influence, and excited no jealoufy. They, confcious of their own weaknefs, were obliged to overlook fome irregularities, and to permit others; and in order to fupport their authority, which

was destitute of real strength, they endeavoured to gain the most powerful and active barons, by granting them possessions and immunities, which raised them to still greater power. When the King himself came to assume the reins of government, he found his revenues wasted or alienated, the crown lands seized or given away, and the nobles so accustomed to independence, that, after the struggles of a whole reign, he was seldom able to reduce them to the same state in which they had been at the beginning of his minority, or to wrest from them what they had usurped during that time. If we take a view of what happened to each of our Kings, who was so unfortunate as to be placed in this situation, the truth and importance of this observation will fully appear.

Review of the events favourable to the nobles during each minority.

David II.

The minority of David II. the son of Robert Bruce, was disturbed by the pretensions of Edward Baliol, who relying on the aid of England, and on the support of some disaffected barons among the Scots, invaded the kingdom. The success which at first attended his arms, obliged the young King to retire to France; and Baliol took possession of the throne. A small body of the nobles, however, continuing faithful to their exiled Prince, drove Baliol out of Scotland; and after an absence of nine years, David returned from France, and took the government of the kingdom into his own hands. But nobles, who were thus wasting their blood and treasure in defence of the crown, had a right to the undisturbed possession of their ancient privileges;

BOOK I. 1329. and even ſome title to arrogate new ones. It ſeems to have been a maxim in that age, that every leader might claim as his own, the territory which his ſword had won from the enemy. Great acquiſitions were gained by the nobility in that way: and to theſe the gratitude and liberality of David added, by diſtributing among ſuch as adhered to him, the vaſt poſſeſſions which fell to the crown by the forfeiture of his enemies. The family of Douglas, which began to riſe above the other nobles in the reign of his father, augmented both its power and its property during his minority.

1405. James I. JAMES I. was ſeized by the Engliſh during the continuance of a truce, and ungenerouſly detained a priſoner almoſt nineteen years. During that period, the kingdom was governed, firſt by his uncle Robert Duke of Albany, and then by Murdo the ſon of Robert. Both theſe noblemen aſpired to the crown; and their unnatural ambition, if we may believe moſt of our hiſtorians, not only cut ſhort the days of Prince David, the King's eldeſt brother, but prolonged the captivity of James. They flattered themſelves that they might ſtep with leſs oppoſition into a throne, when almoſt vacant: and, dreading the King's return as the extinction of their authority and the end of their hopes, they carried on the negociations for obtaining his liberty with extreme remiſſneſs. At the ſame time, they neglected nothing that could either ſooth or bribe the nobles to approve of their ſcheme. They ſlackened the reins of government; they al-

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lowed the prerogative to be encroached upon; they ſuffered the moſt irregular acts of power, and even wanton inſtances of oppreſſion, to paſs with impunity; they dealt out the patrimony of the crown among thoſe whoſe enmity they dreaded or whoſe favour they had gained; and reduced the royal authority to a ſtate of imbecility, from which ſucceeding monarchs laboured in vain to raiſe it. BOOK I.

DURING the minority of James II. the adminiſtration of affairs as well as the cuſtody of the King's perſon were committed to Sir William Crichton and Sir Alexander Livingſton. Jealouſy and diſcord were the effects of their conjunct authority, and each of them, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf, beſtowed new power and privileges upon the great men whoſe aid he courted; while the young Earl of Douglas, encouraged by their diviſions, erected a ſort of independent principality within the kingdom; and, forbidding his vaſſals to acknowledge any authority but his own, he created knights, appointed a privy council, named officers civil and military, aſſumed every enſign of royalty but the title of King, and appeared in public with a magnificence more than royal. 1437. James II.

EIGHT perſons were choſen to govern the kingdom during the minority of James III. Lord Boyd, however, by ſeizing the perſon of the young King, and by the aſcendant which he acquired over him, ſoon engroſſed the whole authority. He formed the ambitious project of raiſing his family to the ſame pitch of power and grandeur with thoſe of the prime nobility; and 1460. James III.

he effected it. While intent on this, he relaxed the vigour of government, and the barons became accuſtomed, once more, to anarchy and independence. The power, which Boyd had been at ſo much pains to acquire, was of no long continuance, and the fall of his family, according to the fate of favourites, was ſudden and deſtructive; but upon its ruins the family of Hamilton roſe, which ſoon attained the higheſt rank in the kingdom.

James V.

As the minority of James V. was longer, it was likewiſe more turbulent, than thoſe of the preceding Kings. And the contending nobles, encouraged or protected either by the King of France, or of England, formed themſelves into more regular factions, and diſregarded more than ever the reſtraints of order and authority. The French had the advantage of ſeeing one, devoted to their intereſt, raiſed to be Regent. This was the Duke of Albany, a native of France, and a grandſon of James II. But Alexander Lord Home, the moſt eminent of all Scottiſh peers who ſurvived the fatal battle of Flowden, thwarted all his meaſures during the firſt years of his adminiſtration; and the intrigues of the Queen Dowager, ſiſter of Henry VIII. rendered the latter part of it no leſs feeble. Though ſupported by French auxiliaries, the nobles deſpiſed his authority, and, regardleſs either of his threats or his intreaties, peremptorily refuſed, two ſeveral times, to enter England, to the borders of which kingdom he had led them. Provoked by theſe repeated inſtances of

of contempt, the Regent abandoned his troublesome ſtation, and, retiring to France, preferred the tranquillity of a private life, to an office deſtitute of real authority. Upon his retreat, Douglas Earl of Angus became maſter of the King's perſon, and governed the kingdom in his name. Many efforts were made to deprive him of his uſurped authority. But the numerous vaſſals and friends of his family adhered to him, becauſe he divided with them the power and emoluments of his office; the people reverenced and loved the name of Douglas; he exerciſed, without the title of Regent, a fuller and more abſolute authority than any who had enjoyed that dignity; and the ancient, but dangerous pre-eminence of the Douglaſes ſeemed to be reſtored.

To theſe, and to many other cauſes, omitted or unobſerved by us, did the Scottiſh nobility owe that exorbitant and uncommon power, of which inſtances occur ſo frequently in our hiſtory. Nothing however demonſtrates ſo fully the extent of their power, as the length of its duration. Many years after the declenſion of the feudal ſyſtem in the other kingdoms of Europe, and when the arms or policy of Princes had, every where, ſhaken, or laid it in ruins, the foundations of that ancient fabric remained, in a great meaſure, firm and untouched as in Scotland.

The power of the feudal nobles become intolerable to princes.

The powers which the feudal inſtitutions veſted in the nobles, ſoon became intolerable to all the Princes of Europe, who longed to poſſeſs

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BOOK I.

ſomething more than a nominal and precarious authority. Their impatience to obtain this, precipitated Henry III. of England, Edward II. and ſome other weak Princes, into raſh and premature attempts againſt the privileges of the barons, in which they were diſappointed or periſhed. Princes, of greater abilities, were content to mitigate evils which they could not cure; they ſought occupation for the turbulent ſpirit of their nobles, in frequent wars; and allowed their fiery courage to evaporate in foreign expeditions, which, if they brought no other advantage, ſecured at leaſt domeſtic tranquillity. But time and accidents ripened the feudal governments for deſtruction. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, and beginning of the ſixteenth, all the Princes of Europe attacked, as if by concert, the power of their nobles. Men of genius then undertook, with ſucceſs, what their unſkilful predeceſſors had attempted in vain. Lewis XI. of France, the moſt profound and the moſt adventurous genius of that age, began, and in a ſingle reign almoſt completed, the ſcheme of their deſtruction. The ſure but concealed policy of Henry VII. of England produced the ſame effect. The means, indeed, employed by theſe monarchs were very different. The blow which Lewis ſtruck was ſudden and fatal. The artifices of Henry reſembled thoſe ſlow poiſons, which waſte the conſtitution, but become not mortal till ſome diſtant period. Nor did they produce conſequences leſs oppoſite. Lewis boldly added to the crown

The attempts to humble the nobles ſucceſsful in France and in England.

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whatever he wreſted from the nobles. Henry undermined his barons, by encouraging them to ſell their lands, which enriched the commons, and gave them a weight in the legiſlature unknown to their predeceſſors. But while theſe great revolutions were carrying on in two kingdoms with which Scotland was intimately connected, little alteration happened there; our Kings could neither extend their own prerogative, nor enable the commons to encroach upon the ariſtocracy; the nobles not only retained moſt of their ancient privileges and poſſeſſions, but continued to make new acquiſitions.

But the nobles continue to gather ſtrength in Scotland.

THIS was not owing to the inattention of our Princes, or to their want of ambition. They were abundantly ſenſible of the exorbitant power of the nobility, and extremely ſolicitous to humble that order. They did not, however, poſſeſs means ſufficient for accompliſhing this end. The reſources of our monarchs were few, and the progreſs which they made was of courſe inconſiderable. But as the number of their followers, and the extent of their juriſdiction, were the two chief circumſtances which rendered the nobles formidable; in order to counterbalance the one, and to reſtrain the other, all our Kings had recourſe to nearly the ſame expedients.

Our Kings endeavoured to extend the royal authority.

General means towards this end.

I. AMONG nobles of a fierce courage, and of unpoliſhed manners, ſurrounded with vaſſals bold and licentious, whom they were bound by intereſt and honour to protect, the cauſes of diſcord

Encourage diſcord among the nobles.

BOOK I. cord were many and unavoidable. As the contending parties could ſeldom agree in acknowledging the authority of any common ſuperior or judge, and their impatient ſpirit would ſeldom wait the ſlow deciſions of juſtice, their quarrels were uſually terminated by the ſword. The offended baron aſſembled his vaſſals, and waſted the lands, or ſhed the blood, of his enemies. To forgive an injury, was mean; to forbear revenge, infamous or cowardly[m]. Hence quarrels were tranſmitted from father to ſon, and under the name of *deadly feuds*, ſubſiſted for many generations with unmitigated rancour. It was the intereſt of the crown to foment rather than to extinguiſh theſe quarrels; and by ſcattering or cheriſhing the ſeeds of diſcord among

[m] The ſpirit of revenge was encouraged, not only by the manners, but, what is more remarkable, by the laws of thoſe ages. If any perſon thought the proſecution of an injury offered to his family too troubleſome, or too dangerous, the Salique laws permitted him publicly to deſiſt from demanding vengeance; but the ſame laws, in order to puniſh his cowardice, and want of affection to his family, deprived him of the right of ſucceſſion. Henault's Abregé Chronol. p. 81. Among the Anglo-Saxons, we find a ſingular inſtitution diſtinguiſhed by the name of *ſodalitium*; a voluntary aſſociation, the object whereof was the perſonal ſecurity of thoſe who joined in it, and which the feebleneſs of government at that time rendered neceſſary. Among other regulations, which are contained in one of theſe ſtill extant, the following deſerves notice: "If any aſſociate ſhall either eat or drink with a perſon who has killed any member of the *ſodalitium*, unleſs in the preſence of the King, the biſhop, or the count, and unleſs he can prove that he did not know the perſon, let him pay a great fine." Hicks Diſſert. Epiſtolar. apud. Theſaur. Ling. Septentr. vol. i. p. 21.

the nobles, that union, which would have rendered the ariſtocracy invincible, and which muſt at once have annihilated the prerogative, was effectually prevented. To the ſame cauſe, our Kings were indebted for the ſucceſs with which they ſometimes attacked the moſt powerful chieftains. They employed private revenge to aid the impotence of public laws, and, arming againſt the perſon who had incurred their diſpleaſure thoſe rival families which wiſhed his fall, they rewarded their ſervice by ſharing among them the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed. But this expedient, though it ſerved to humble individuals, did not weaken the body of the nobility. Thoſe who were now the inſtruments of their Prince's vengeance became, in a ſhort time, the objects of his fear. Having acquired power and wealth by ſerving the crown, they, in their turn, ſet up for independence: and though there might be a fluctuation of power and of property; though old families fell, and new ones roſe upon their ruins; the rights of the ariſtocracy remained entire, and its vigour unbroken.

Extend the juriſdiction of the King's courts.

II. As the adminiſtration of juſtice is one of the moſt powerful ties between a King and his ſubjects, all our Monarchs were at the utmoſt pains to circumſcribe the juriſdiction of the barons, and to extend that of the crown. The external forms of ſubordination, natural to the feudal ſyſtem, favoured this attempt. An appeal lay from the judges and courts of the barons, to thoſe of the King. The right, however, of judging in the firſt inſtance belonged to the nobles,

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

nobles, and they eaſily found means to defeat the effects of appeals, as well as of many other feudal regulations. The royal juriſdiction was almoſt confined within the narrow limits of the King's demeſnes, beyond which his judges claimed indeed much authority, but poſſeſſed next to none. Our Kings were ſenſible of theſe limitations, and bore them with impatience. But it was impoſſible to overturn, in a moment, what was ſo deeply rooted: or to ſtrip the nobles, at once, of privileges which they had held ſo long, and which were wrought almoſt into the frame of the feudal conſtitution. To accompliſh this, however, was an object of uniform and anxious attention to all our Princes. James I. led the way here, as well as in other inſtances, towards a more regular and perfect police. He made choice, among the eſtates of parliament, of a certain number of perſons, whom he diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Lords of Seſſion*, and appointed them to hold courts for determining civil cauſes three times in the year, and forty days at a time, in whatever place he pleaſed to name. Their juriſdiction extended to all matters which formerly came under the cognizance of the King's council, and being a committee of parliament, their deciſions were final. James II. obtained a law, annexing all regalities, which ſhould be forfeited, to the crown, and declaring the right of juriſdiction to be unalienable for the future. James III. impoſed ſevere penalties upon thoſe judges appointed by the barons, whoſe deciſions ſhould be found on a review to be

be unjuſt; and, by many other regulations, endeavoured to extend the authority of his own court [n]. James IV. on pretence of remedying the inconveniencies ariſing from the ſhort terms of the Court of Seſſion, appointed other judges called *Lords of Daily Council.* The *Seſſion* was an ambulatory court, and met ſeldom: the *Daily Council* was fixed, and ſat conſtantly at Edinburgh; and though not compoſed of members of parliament, the ſame powers which the Lords of Seſſion enjoyed were veſted in it. At laſt James V. erected a new court that ſtill ſubſiſts, and which he named the *College of Juſtice*, the judges or *Senators* of which were called *Lords of Council and Seſſion.* This court not only exerciſed the ſame juriſdiction which formerly belonged to the Seſſion and Daily Council, but new rights were added. Privileges of great importance were granted to its members, its forms were preſcribed, its terms fixed, and regularity, power, and ſplendour conferred upon it [o]. The perſons conſtituted judges in all theſe different courts had, in many reſpects, the advantage of thoſe who preſided in the courts of the barons; they were more eminent for their ſkill in law, their rules of proceeding were more uniform, and their deciſions more conſiſtent. Such judicatories became the objects of confidence, and of veneration. Men willingly ſubmitted their property to their determination,

[n] Act 26 P. 1469. Act 94 P. 1493. Act 99 P. 1487.

[o] Keith, App. 74, &c.

and

and their encroachments on the juriſdictions of the nobles were popular, and for that reaſon ſucceſsful. By devices of a ſimilar nature, the juriſdiction of the nobles in criminal cauſes was reſtrained, and the authority of the Court of *Juſticiary* extended. The crown, in this particular, gaining inſenſibly upon the nobles, recovered more ample authority; and the King, whoſe juriſdiction once reſembled that of a baron, rather than that of a ſovereign [q], came more

[p] The moſt perfect idea of the feudal ſyſtem of government may be attained by attending to the ſtate of Germany, and to the hiſtory of France. In the former, the feudal inſtitutions ſtill ſubſiſt with great vigour: and though altogether aboliſhed in the latter, the public records have been ſo carefully preſerved, that the French lawyers and antiquaries have been enabled, with more certainty and preciſion, than thoſe of any other country in Europe, to trace its riſe, its progreſs, and revolutions. In Germany, every principality may be conſidered as a fief, and all its great Princes as vaſſals, holding of the Emperor. They poſſeſs all the feudal privileges; their fiefs are perpetual; their juriſdictions within their own territories ſeparate and extenſive; and the great offices of the empire are all hereditary, and annexed to particular families. At the ſame time the Emperor retains many of the prerogatives of the feudal monarchs. Like them, his claims and pretenſions are innumerable, and his power ſmall; his juriſdiction within his own demeſnes or hereditary countries is complete; beyond the bounds of theſe it is almoſt nothing; and ſo permanent are feudal principles, that although the feudal ſyſtem be overturned in almoſt every particular ſtate in Germany, and although the greater part of its Princes have become abſolute, the original feudal conſtitution of the empire ſtill remains, and ideas peculiar to that form of government direct all its operations, and determine the rights of all its Princes. Our obſervations with regard to the limited juriſdiction

more and more to be confidered as the head of the community, and the fupreme difpenfer of juftice to his people. Thefe acquifitions of our Kings, however, though comparatively great, were in reality inconfiderable; and, notwithftanding all their efforts, many of the feparate jurifdictions poffeffed by the nobles remained in great vigour; and their final abolition was referved to a diftant and more happy period.

Each of our Kings purfued fome plan of humbling the nobles.

BUT befides thefe methods of defending their prerogative and humbling the ariftocracy, which may be confidered as common to all our Princes, we fhall find, by taking a view of their reigns, that almoft every one of our Kings, from Robert Bruce to James V., had formed fome particular fyftem for depreffing the authority of the nobles, which was the object both of their jealoufy and terror. This conduct of our monarchs, if we reft fatisfied with the accounts of their hiftorians,

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diction of Kings under the feudal governments, are greatly illuftrated by what happened in France. The feeblenefs and dotage of the defcendants of Charlemagne encouraged the peers to ufurp an independent jurifdiction. Nothing remained in the hands of the crown; all was feized by them. When Hugh Capet afcended the throne, A.D. 987, he kept poffeffion of his private patrimony the Conté of Paris; and all the jurifdiction which the Kings his fucceffors exercifed for fome time, was within its territories. There were only four towns in France, where he could eftablifh *Grands Baillis*, or royal judges; all the other lands, towns, and bailliages, belonged to the nobles. The methods to which the French monarchs had recourfe for extending their jurifdiction were exactly fimilar to thofe employed by our Princes. Henault's Abregé, p. 617, &c. De l'Efprit des Loix, liv. 30. ch. 20, &c.

must

BOOK I.

muſt be conſidered as flowing entirely from their reſentment againſt particular noblemen ; and all their attempts to humble them muſt be viewed as the ſallies of private paſſion, not as the conſequences of any general plan of policy. But, though ſome of their actions may be imputed to thoſe paſſions, though the different genius of the men, the temper of the times, and the ſtate of the nation, neceſſarily occaſioned great variety in their ſchemes ; yet without being chargeable with exceſſive refinement, we may affirm that their end was uniformly the ſame ; and that the project of reducing the power of the ariſtocracy, ſometimes avowed, and purſued with vigour ; ſometimes concealed, or ſeemingly ſuſpended ; was never altogether abandoned.

This proved by a review of the events in their reigns.

Robert Bruce.

No Prince was ever more indebted to his nobles than Robert Bruce. Their valour conquered the kingdom, and placed him on the throne. His gratitude and generoſity beſtowed on them the lands of the vanquiſhed. Property has ſeldom undergone greater or more ſudden revolutions, than thoſe to which it was ſubject at that time in Scotland. Edward I. having forfeited the eſtates of moſt of the ancient Scottiſh barons, granted them to his Engliſh ſubjects. Theſe were expelled by the Scots, and their lands ſeized by new maſters. Amidſt ſuch rapid changes, confuſion was unavoidable; and many poſſeſſed their lands by titles extremely defective. During one of thoſe truces between the two nations, occaſioned rather by their being weary of war than deſirous of peace, Robert

 formed

formed a ſcheme for checking the growing power and wealth of the nobles. He ſummoned them to appear, and to ſhew by what rights they held their lands. They aſſembled accordingly, and the queſtion being put, they ſtarted up at once, and drew their ſwords, " By theſe," ſaid they, " we acquired our lands, and with theſe we will defend them." The King, intimidated by their boldneſs, prudently dropped the project. But ſo deeply did they reſent this attack upon their order, that, notwithſtanding Robert's popular and ſplendid virtues, it occaſioned a dangerous conſpiracy againſt his life.

BOOK I.

DAVID his ſon, at firſt an exile in France, afterward a priſoner in England, and involved in continual war with Edward III., had not leiſure to attend to the internal police of his kingdom, or to think of retrenching the privileges of the nobility.

David II.

OUR hiſtorians have been more careful to relate the military than the civil tranſactions of the reign of Robert II. Skirmiſhes and inroads of little conſequence they deſcribe minutely; but with regard to every thing that happened during ſeveral years of tranquillity, they are altogether ſilent.

Robert II.

THE feeble adminiſtration of Robert III. muſt likewiſe be paſſed over ſlightly. A Prince of a mean genius, and of a frail and ſickly conſtitution, was not a fit perſon to enter the liſts with active and martial barons, or to attempt wreſting from them any of their rights.

Robert III.

THE civil tranſactions in Scotland are better known ſince the beginning of the reign of James

James I.

James I., and a complete ſeries of our laws ſupplies the defects of our hiſtorians. The Engliſh made ſome amends for their injuſtice in detaining that Prince a priſoner, by their generous care of his education. During his long reſidence in England, he had an opportunity of obſerving the feudal ſyſtem in a more advanced ſtate, and refined from many of the imperfections which ſtill adhered to it in his own kingdom. He ſaw there, nobles great, but not independent; a King, powerful, though far from abſolute: he ſaw a regular adminiſtration of government; wiſe laws enacted; and a nation flouriſhing and happy, becauſe all ranks of men were accuſtomed to obey them. Full of theſe ideas, he returned into his native country, which preſented to him a very different ſcene. The royal authority, never great, was now contemptible, by having been ſo long delegated to Regents. The ancient patrimony and revenues of the crown were almoſt totally alienated. During his long abſence the name of King was little known, and leſs regarded. The licence of many years had rendered the nobles independent. Univerſal anarchy prevailed. The weak were expoſed to the rapine and oppreſſion of the ſtrong. In every corner ſome barbarous chieftain ruled at pleaſure, and neither feared the King, nor pitied the people[q].

[q] A cotemporary monkiſh writer deſcribes theſe calamities very feelingly, in his rude Latin. In diebus illis, non erat lex in Scotia, ſed quilibet potentiorum juniorem oppreſſit; et totum regnum fuit unum latrocinium; homicidia, deprædationes, incendia,

JAMES was too wiſe a Prince to employ open force to correct ſuch inveterate evils. Neither the men nor the times would have borne it. He applied the gentler and leſs offenſive remedy of laws and ſtatutes. In a parliament held immediately after his return, he gained the confidence of his people, by many wiſe laws, tending viſibly to re-eſtabliſh order, tranquillity, and juſtice, in the kingdom. But, at the ſame time that he endeavoured to ſecure theſe bleſſings to his ſubjects, he diſcovered his intention to recover thoſe poſſeſſions of which the crown had been unjuſtly bereaved; and for that purpoſe obtained an act, by which he was empowered to ſummon ſuch as had obtained crown lands during the three laſt reigns, to produce the rights by which they held them[r]. As this ſtatute threatened the property of the nobles, another which paſſed in a ſubſequent parliament aimed a dreadful blow at their power. By it the leagues and combinations which we have already deſcribed, and which rendered the nobles ſo formidable to the crown, were declared unlawful[s]. Encouraged by this ſucceſs in the beginning of his enterpriſe, James's next ſtep was ſtill bolder and more deciſive. During the ſitting of parliament, he ſeized, at once, his couſin Murdo Duke of Albany, and his ſons; the Earls of Douglas,

cendia, et cætera maleficia remanſerunt impunita; et juſtitia relegata extra terminos regni exulavit. Chartular. Morav. apud Innes Eſſay, vol. i. p. 272.

[r] Act 9 P. 1424. [s] Act 30 P. 1424.

BOOK I.

Douglas, Lennox, Angus, March, and above twenty other peers and barons of prime rank. To all of them, however, he was immediately reconciled, except to Albany and his ſons, and Lennox. Theſe were tried by their peers, and condemned; for what crime is now unknown. Their execution ſtruck the whole order with terror, and their forfeiture added conſiderable poſſeſſions to the crown. He ſeized, likewiſe, the earldoms of Buchan and Strathern, upon different pretexts; and that of Mar fell to him by inheritance. The patience and inactivity of the nobles, while the King was proceeding ſo rapidly towards aggrandizing the crown, are amazing. The only obſtruction he met with was from a ſlight inſurrection headed by the Duke of Albany's youngeſt ſon, and that was eaſily ſuppreſſed. The ſplendour and preſence of a King, to which the great men had been long unaccuſtomed, inſpired reverence: James was a Prince of great abilities, and conducted his operations with much prudence. He was in friendſhip with England, and cloſely allied with the French King: he was adored by the people, who enjoyed unuſual ſecurity and happineſs under his adminiſtration: and all his acquiſitions, however fatal to the body of the nobles, had been gained by attacks upon individuals; were obtained by deciſions of law; and, being founded on circumſtances peculiar to the perſons who ſuffered, might excite murmurs and apprehenſions, but afforded no colourable

pretext

pretext for a general rebellion. It was not ſo with the next attempt which the King made. Encouraged by the facility with which he had hitherto advanced, he ventured upon a meaſure that irritated the whole body of the nobility, and which the events ſhew either to have been entered into with too much precipitancy, or to have been carried on with too much violence. The father of George Dunbar Earl of March had taken arms againſt Robert III., the King's father; but that crime had been pardoned, and his lands reſtored by Robert Duke of Albany. James, on pretext that the Regent had exceeded his power, and that it was the prerogative of the King alone to pardon treaſon, or to alienate lands annexed to the crown, obtained a ſentence, declaring the pardon to be void, and depriving Dunbar of the earldom. Many of the great men held lands by no other right than what they derived from grants of the two Dukes of Albany. Such a deciſion, though they had reaſon to expect it in conſequence of the ſtatute which the King had obtained, occaſioned a general alarm. Though Dunbar was, at preſent, the only ſufferer, the precedent might be extended, and their titles to poſſeſſions which they conſidered as the rewards of their valour, might be ſubjected to the review of courts of law, whoſe forms of proceeding, and juriſdiction, were in a martial age little known, and extremely odious. Terror and diſcontent ſpread faſt upon this diſcovery of the King's intentions; the common danger called on the whole order

to unite, and to make one bold ſtand, before they were ſtripped ſucceſſively of their acquiſitions, and reduced to a ſtate of poverty and inſignificance. The prevalence of theſe ſentiments among the nobles encouraged a few deſperate men, the friends or followers of thoſe who had been the chief ſufferers under the King's adminiſtration, to form a conſpiracy againſt his life. The firſt uncertain intelligence of this was brought him, while he lay in his camp before Roxburgh Caſtle. He durſt not confide in nobles, to whom he had given ſo many cauſes of diſguſt, but inſtantly diſmiſſed them and their vaſſals, and, retiring to a monaſtery near Perth, was ſoon after murdered there in the moſt cruel manner. All our hiſtorians mention with aſtoniſhment this circumſtance, of the King's diſbanding his army at a time when it was ſo neceſſary for his preſervation. A King, ſay they, ſurrounded with his barons, is ſecure from ſecret treaſon, and may defy open rebellion. But thoſe very barons were the perſons whom he chiefly dreaded; and it is evident from this review of his adminiſtration, that he had greater reaſon to apprehend danger, than to expect defence, from their hands. It was the misfortune of James, that his maxims and manners were too refined for the age in which he lived. Happy! had he reigned in a kingdom more civilized; his love of peace, of juſtice, and of elegance, would have rendered his ſchemes ſucceſsful; and, inſtead of periſhing becauſe he had attempted too much, a grateful

people would have applauded and ſeconded his efforts to reform and improve them.

BOOK I. James II.

Crichton, the moſt able man of thoſe who had the direction of affairs during the minority of James II. had been the miniſter of James I. and well acquainted with his reſolution of humbling the nobility. He did not relinquiſh the deſign, and he endeavoured to inſpire his pupil with the ſame ſentiments. But what James had attempted to effect ſlowly, and by legal means, his ſon and Crichton purſued with the impetuoſity natural to Scotſmen, and with the fierceneſs peculiar to that age. William the ſixth Earl of Douglas was the firſt victim to their barbarous policy. That young nobleman (as we have already obſerved), contemning the authority of an infant Prince, almoſt openly renounced his allegiance, and aſpired to independence. Crichton, too high-ſpirited to bear ſuch an inſult, but too weak to curb or to bring to juſtice ſo powerful an offender, decoyed him by many promiſes to an interview in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and, notwithſtanding theſe, murdered both him and his brother. Crichton, however, gained little by this act of treachery, which rendered him univerſally odious. William the eighth Earl of Douglas was no leſs powerful, and no leſs formidable to the crown. By forming the league which we already mentioned with the Earl of Crawford and other barons, he had united againſt his ſovereign almoſt one-half of his kingdom. But his credulity led him into the ſame ſnare which had been fatal to the former Earl. Relying on the King's promiſes, who had now

BOOK I. attained to the years of manhood, and having obtained a ſafe-conduct under the great ſeal, he ventured to meet him in Stirling Caſtle. James urged him to diſſolve that dangerous confederacy into which he had entered; the Earl obſtinately refuſed; "If you will not," ſaid the enraged Monarch, drawing his dagger, "this ſhall;" and ſtabbed him to the heart. An action ſo unworthy of a King filled the nation with aſtoniſhment and with horror. The Earl's vaſſals ran to arms with the utmoſt fury, and dragging the ſafe-conduct, which the King had granted and violated, at a horſe's tail, they marched towards Stirling, burnt the town, and threatened to beſiege the caſtle. An accommodation, however, enſued; on what terms is not known. But the King's jealouſy and the new Earl's power and reſentment, prevented it from being of long continuance. Both took the field at the head of their armies, and met near Abercorn. That of the Earl, compoſed chiefly of borderers, was far ſuperior to the King's, both in number and in valour; and a ſingle battle muſt, in all probability, have decided whether the houſe of Stuart or of Douglas was henceforth to poſſeſs the throne of Scotland. But, while his troops impatiently expected the ſignal to engage, the Earl ordered them to retire to their camp; and Sir James Hamilton of Cadyow, the perſon in whom he placed the greateſt confidence, convinced of his want of genius to improve an opportunity, or of his want of courage to ſeize a crown, deſerted him that very night.

This

This example was followed by many; and the Earl, despised or forsaken by all, was soon driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to depend for his subsistence on the friendship of the King of England. The ruin of this great family, which had so long rivalled and overawed the crown, and the terror with which such an example of unsuccessful ambition filled the nobles, secured the King, for some time, from opposition; and the royal authority remained uncontrolled and almost absolute. James did not suffer this favourable interval to pass unimproved; he procured the consent of Parliament to laws more advantageous to the prerogative, and more subversive of the privileges of the aristocracy, than were ever obtained by any former or subsequent monarch of Scotland.

By one of these, not only all the vast possessions of the Earl of Douglas were annexed to the crown, but all prior and future alienations of crown-lands were declared to be void, and the King was impowered to seize them at pleasure, without any process or form of law, and oblige the possessors to refund whatever they had received from them[t]. A dreadful instrument of oppression in the hands of a Prince!

Another law prohibited the wardenship of the marches to be granted hereditarily; restrained, in several instances, the jurisdiction of that office; and extended the authority of the King's courts[u].

[t] Act 41. P. 1455. [u] Ibid. Act 42.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

BOOK I.

By a third, it was enacted that no *Regality*, or exclusive right of administering justice within a man's own lands, should be granted in time to come, without the consent of Parliament[x]; a condition which implied almost an express prohibition. Those nobles who already possessed that great privilege, would naturally be solicitous to prevent it from becoming common, by being bestowed on many. Those who had not themselves attained it, would envy others the acquisition of such a flattering distinction, and both would concur in rejecting the claims of new pretenders.

By a fourth act, all new grants of hereditary offices were prohibited, and those obtained since the death of the last King were revoked[y].

Each of these statutes undermined some of the great pillars on which the power of the aristocracy rested. During the remainder of his reign, this Prince pursued the plan which he had begun, with the utmost vigour; and had not a sudden death, occasioned by the splinter of a cannon which burst near him at the siege of Roxburgh, prevented his progress, he wanted neither genius nor courage to perfect it: and Scotland might, in all probability, have been the first kingdom in Europe which would have seen the subversion of the feudal system.

James III. James III. discovered no less eagerness than his father or grandfather to humble the nobility; but far inferior to either of them in abilities and address, he adopted a plan extremely impolitic, and

[x] Ibid. Act 43. [y] Act 44.

his

his reign was disaſtrous, as well as his end tragical. Under the feudal governments, the nobles were not only the King's miniſters, and poſſeſſed of all the great offices of power or of truſt; they were likewiſe his companions and favourites, and hardly any but them approached his perſon, or were intitled to his regard. But James, who both feared and hated his nobles, kept them at an unuſual diſtance, and beſtowed every mark of confidence and affection upon a few mean perſons, of profeſſions ſo diſhonourable, as ought to have rendered them unworthy of his preſence. Shut up with theſe in his caſtle of Stirling, he ſeldom appeared in public, and amuſed himſelf in architecture, muſic, and other arts, which were then little eſteemed. The nobles beheld the power and favour of theſe minions with indignation. Even the ſanguinary meaſures of his father provoked them leſs than his neglect. Individuals alone ſuffered by the former; by the latter, every man thought himſelf injured, becauſe all were contemned. Their diſcontent was much heightened by the King's recalling all rights to crown-lands, hereditary offices, regalities, and every other conceſſion which was detrimental to his prerogative, and which had been extorted during his minority. Combinations among themſelves, ſecret intrigues with England, and all the uſual preparatives for civil war, were the effects of their reſentment. Alexander Duke of Albany, and John Earl of Mar, the King's brothers, two young men of turbulent and ambitious ſpirits, and incenſed againſt James, who

treated

BOOK I.

treated them with the ſame coldneſs, as he did the other great men, entered deeply into all their cabals. The King detected their deſigns before they were ripe for execution, and ſeizing his two brothers, committed the Duke of Albany to Edinburgh Caſtle. The Earl of Mar, having remonſtrated with too much boldneſs againſt the King's conduct, was murdered, if we may believe our hiſtorians, by his command. Albany, apprehenſive of the ſame fate, made his eſcape out of the caſtle, and fled into France. Concern for the King's honour, or indignation at his meaſures, were perhaps the motives which firſt induced him to join the malecontents. But James's attachment to favourites rendering him every day more odious to the nobles, the proſpect of the advantages which might be derived from their general diſaffection, added to the reſentment which he felt on account of his brother's death, and his own injuries, ſoon inſpired Albany with more ambitious and criminal thoughts. He concluded a treaty with Edward IV. of England, in which he aſſumed the name of Alexander King of Scots; and in return for the aſſiſtance which wa promiſed him towards dethroning his brother, he bound himſelf, as ſoon as he was put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, to ſwear fealty and do homage to the Engliſh monarch, to renounce the ancient alliance with France, to contract a new one with England, and to ſurrender ſome of the ſtrongeſt caſtles and moſt valuable counties in Scotland [z].

[z] Abercr. Mart. Atch, vol. ii. p. 443.

BOOK I.

That aid, which the Duke ſo baſely purchaſed at the price of his own honour, and the independence of his country, was punctually granted him, and the Duke of Glouceſter with a powerful army conducted him towards Scotland. The danger of a foreign invaſion obliged James to implore the aſſiſtance of thoſe nobles whom he had ſo long treated with contempt. Some of them were in cloſe confederacy with the Duke of Albany, and approved of all his pretenſions. Others were impatient for any event which would reſtore their order to its ancient pre-eminence. They ſeemed, however, to enter with zeal into the meaſures of their ſovereign for the defence of the kingdom againſt its invaders [a], and took the field, at the head of a powerful army of their followers, but with a ſtronger diſpoſition to redreſs their own grievances than to annoy the enemy; and with a fixed reſolution of puniſhing thoſe minions, whoſe inſolence they could no longer tolerate. This reſolution they executed in the camp near Lauder, with a military diſpatch and rigour. Having previouſly concerted their plan, the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Lennox, followed by almoſt all the barons of chief note in the army, forcibly entered the apartment of their ſovereign, ſeized all his favourites except one Ramſay, whom they could not tear from the King, in whoſe arms he took ſhelter, and, without any form of trial, hanged them inſtantly over a bridge. Among the moſt remarkable of

[a] Black Acts, fol. 65.

thoſe

those who had engroſſed the King's affection, were Cochran a maſon, Hommil a taylor, Leonard a ſmith, Rogers a muſician, and Torſifan a fencing-maſter. So deſpicable a retinue diſcovers the capriciouſneſs of James's character, and accounts for the indignation of the nobles, when they beheld the favour, due to them, beſtowed on ſuch unworthy objects.

James had no reaſon to confide in an army ſo little under his command, and diſmiſſing it, ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle of Edinburgh. After various intrigues, Albany's lands and honours were at length reſtored to him, and he ſeemed even to have regained his brother's favour, by ſome important ſervices. But their friendſhip was not of long duration. James abandoned himſelf, once more, to the guidance of favourites; and the fate of thoſe who had ſuffered at Lauder did not deter others from courting that dangerous pre-eminence. Albany, on pretext that an attempt had been made to take away his life by poiſon, fled from court, and, retiring to his caſtle at Dunbar drew thither a greater number of barons than attended on the King himſelf. At the ſame time he renewed his former confederacy with Edward; the Earl of Angus openly negociated that infamous treaty; other barons were ready to concur with it; and if the ſudden death of Edward had not prevented Albany's receiving any aid from England, the crown of Scotland would probably have been the reward of this unworthy combination with the enemies of his country. But, inſtead of any

hopes

hopes of reigning in Scotland, he found, upon the death of Edward, that he could not reside there in safety; and, flying first to England and then to France, he seems from that time to have taken no part in the affairs of his native country. Emboldened by his retreat, the King and his ministers multiplied the insults which they offered to the nobility. A standing guard, a thing unknown under the feudal governments, and inconsistent with the familiarity and confidence with which monarchs then lived amidst their nobles, was raised for the King's defence, and the command of it given to Ramsay, lately created Earl of Bothwell, the same person who had so narrowly escaped when his companions were put to death at Lauder. As if this precaution had not been sufficient, a proclamation was issued, forbidding any person to appear in arms within the precincts of the court [b]; which, at a time when no man of rank left his own house without a numerous retinue of armed followers, was, in effect, debarring the nobles from all access to the King. James, at the same time, became fonder of retirement than ever, and, sunk in indolence or superstition, or attentive only to amusements, devolved his whole authority upon his favourites. So many injuries provoked the most considerable nobles to take arms, and having persuaded or obliged the Duke of Rothesay, the King's eldest son, a youth of fifteen, to set himself at their head, they openly declared their

[b] Ferrerius, 398.

intention

BOOK I. intention of depriving James of a crown, of which he had diſcovered himſelf to be ſo unworthy. Rouſed by this danger, the King quitted his retirement, took the field, and encountered them near Bannockburn; but the valour of the borderers, of whom the army of the malecontents was chiefly compoſed, ſoon put his troops to flight, and he himſelf was ſlain in the purſuit. Suſpicion, indolence, immoderate attachment to favourites, and all the vices of a feeble mind, are viſible in his whole conduct; but the character of a cruel and unrelenting tyrant ſeems to be unjuſtly affixed to him by our hiſtorians. His neglect of the nobles irritated, but did not weaken them; and their diſcontent, the immoderate ambition of his two brothers, and their unnatural confederacies with England, were ſufficient to have diſturbed a more vigorous adminiſtration, and to have rendered a Prince of ſuperior talents unhappy.

The indignation which many perſons of rank expreſſed againſt the conduct of the conſpirators, together with the terror of the ſentence of excommunication which the Pope pronounced againſt them, obliged them to uſe their victory with great moderation and humanity. Being conſcious how deteſtable the crime of imbruing their hands in the blood of their Sovereign appeared, they endeavoured to regain the good opinion of their countrymen, and to atone for the treatment of the father, by their loyalty and duty towards the ſon. They placed him inſtantly

ſtantly on the throne, and the whole kingdom ſoon united in acknowledging his authority.

JAMES IV. was naturally generous and brave; he felt, in an high degree, all the paſſions which animate a young and noble mind. He loved magnificence, he delighted in war, and was eager to obtain fame. During his reign, the ancient and hereditary enmity between the King and nobles ſeem almoſt entirely to have ceaſed. He envied not their ſplendor, becauſe it contributed to the ornament of his court; nor did he dread their power, which he conſidered as the ſecurity of his kingdom, not as an object of terror to himſelf. This confidence on his part met with the proper return of duty and affection on theirs; and, in his war with England, he experienced how much a King, beloved by his nobles, is able to perform. Though the ardour of his courage, and the ſpirit of chivalry, rather than the proſpect of any national advantage, induced him to declare war againſt England, ſuch was the zeal of his ſubjects for the King's glory, that he was followed by as gallant an army as ever any of his anceſtors had led upon Engliſh ground. But though James himſelf formed no ſcheme dangerous or detrimental to the ariſtocracy, his reign was diſtinguiſhed by an event extremely fatal to it; and one accidental blow humbled it more than all the premeditated attacks of preceding Kings. In the raſh and unfortunate battle of Flowden, a brave nobility choſe rather to die than to deſert their ſovereign. Twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldeſt ſons of noblemen,

BOOK I. men, and an incredible number of barons, fell with the King [c]. The whole body of the nobles long and ſenſibly felt this diſaſter; and if a Prince of full age had then aſcended the throne, their conſternation and feebleneſs would have afforded him advantages which no former monarch ever poſſeſſed.

James V. BUT James V. who ſucceeded his father, was an infant of a year old; and though the office of Regent was conferred upon his couſin the Duke of Albany, a man of genius and enterpriſe, a native of France, and accuſtomed to a government where the power of the King was already great; though he made many bold attempts to extend the royal authority; though he put to death Lord Home, and baniſhed the Earl of Angus, the two noblemen of greateſt influence in the kingdom, the ariſtocracy loſt no ground under his adminiſtration. A ſtranger to the manners, the laws, and the language of the people whom he was called to rule, he acted, on ſome occaſions, rather like a Viceroy of the French King, than the Governor of Scotland; but the nobles aſſerted their own privileges, and contended for the intereſt of their country with a boldneſs which convinced him of their independence, and of the impotence of his own authority. After ſeveral unſucceſsful ſtruggles, he voluntarily retired to France; and the King being then in his thirteenth year, the nobles agreed that he ſhould aſſume the government,

[c] Aber. ii. 540.

and

BOOK I.

and that eight perſons ſhould be appointed to attend him by turns, and to adviſe and aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of public affairs. The Earl of Angus, who was one of that number, did not long remain ſatisfied with ſuch divided power. He gained ſome of his colleagues, removed others, and intimidated the reſt. When the term of his attendance expired, he ſtill retained authority, to which all were obliged to ſubmit, becauſe none of them was in a condition to diſpute it. The affection of the young King was the only thing wanting, to fix and perpetuate his power. But an active and high-ſpirited Prince ſubmitted, with great impatience, to the reſtraint in which he was kept. It ill ſuited his years, or diſpoſition, to be confined as a priſoner within his own palace; to be treated with no reſpect, and to be deprived of all power. He could not, on ſome occaſions, conceal his reſentment and indignation. Angus foreſaw that he had much to dread from theſe; and as he could not gain the King's heart, he reſolved to make ſure of his perſon. James was continually ſurrounded by the Earl's ſpies and confidents; many eyes watched all his motions, and obſerved every ſtep he took. But the King's eagerneſs to obtain liberty eluded all their vigilance. He eſcaped from Falkland, and fled to the caſtle of Stirling, the reſidence of the Queen his mother, and the only place of ſtrength in the kingdom which was not in the hand of the Douglaſes. The nobles, of whom ſome were influenced by their hatred to Angus,

 and

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASW

and others by their reſpect for the King, crowded to Stirling, and his court was ſoon filled with perſons of the greateſt diſtinction. The Earl, though aſtoniſhed at this unexpected revolution, reſolved at firſt to make one bold puſh for recovering his authority, by marching to Stirling at the head of his followers; but he wanted either courage or ſtrength to execute this reſolution. In a parliament held ſoon after, he and his adherents were attainted, and, after eſcaping from many dangers, and enduring much miſery, he was at length obliged to fly into England for refuge.

JAMES had now not only the name, but, though extremely young, the full authority of a King. He was inferior to no Prince of that age in gracefulneſs of perſon, or in vigour of mind. His underſtanding was good, and his heart warm; the former capable of great improvement, and the latter ſuſceptible of the beſt impreſſions. But, according to the uſual fate of Princes who are called to the throne in their infancy, his education had been neglected. His private preceptors were more ready to flatter, than to inſtruct him. It was the intereſt of thoſe who governed the kingdom, to prevent him from knowing too much. The Earl of Angus, in order to divert him from buſineſs, gave him an early taſte for ſuch pleaſures as afterwards occupied and engroſſed him more than became a King. Accordingly, we diſcover in James all the features of a great but uncultivated ſpirit. On the one hand, violent paſſions, implacable reſentment,

resentment, an immoderate desire of power, and the utmost rage at disappointment. On the other, love to his people, zeal for the punishment of private oppressors, confidence in his favourites, and the most engaging openness and affability of behaviour.

What he himself had suffered from the exorbitant power of the nobles, led him early to imitate his predecessors, in their attempts to humble them. The plan he formed for that purpose was more profound, more systematic, and pursued with greater constancy and steadiness, than that of any of his ancestors: and the influence of the events in his reign upon those of the subsequent period render it necessary to explain his conduct at greater length, and to enter into a more minute detail of his actions. He had penetration enough to discover those defects in the schemes adopted by former Kings, which occasioned their miscarriage. The examples of James I. had taught him, that wise laws operate slowly on a rude people, and that the fierce spirit of the feudal nobles was not to be subdued by these alone. The effects of the violent measures of James II. convinced him, that the oppression of one great family is apt either to excite the suspicion and resentment of the other nobles, or to enrich with its spoils some new family, which would soon adopt the same sentiments, and become equally formidable to the crown. He saw, from the fatal end of James III. that neglect was still more intolerable to the nobles than oppression, and that the

miniſtry of new men and favourites was both diſhonourable and dangerous to a Prince. At the ſame time, he felt that the authority of the crown was not ſufficient to counterbalance the power of the ariſtocracy, and that without ſome new acceſſion of ſtrength, he could expect no better ſucceſs in the ſtruggle than his anceſtors. In this extremity he applied himſelf to the clergy, hoping that they would both reliſh his plan, and concur, with all their influence, in enabling him to put it in execution. Under the feudal government, the church, being reckoned a third eſtate, had its repreſentatives in Parliament; the number of theſe was conſiderable, and they poſſeſſed great influence in that aſſembly. The ſuperſtition of former Kings, and the zeal of many ages of ignorance, had beſtowed on eccleſiaſtics a great proportion of the national wealth; and the authority which they acquired by the reverence of the people, was ſuperior even to that which they derived from their riches. This powerful body, however, depended entirely on the crown. The Popes, notwithſtanding their attention to extend their uſurpations, had neglected Scotland as a diſtant and poor kingdom, and permitted its Kings to exerciſe powers which they diſputed with more conſiderable Princes. The Scottiſh monarchs had the ſole right of nomination to vacant biſhoprics and abbeys[d]; and James naturally concluded, that men who expected pre-

[d] Epiſt. Reg. Scot. i. 197, &c. Act 125. P. 1540.

ferment

ferment from his favour, would be willing to merit it, by promoting his designs. Happily for him, the nobles had not yet recovered the blow which fell on their order at Flowden; and if we may judge either from their conduct, or from the character given of them by Sir Ralph Sadler, the English envoy in Scotland, they were men of little genius, of no experience in business, and incapable of acting either with unanimity, or with vigour. Many of the clergy, on the other hand, were distinguished by their great abilities, and no less by their ambition. Various causes of disgust subsisted between them and the martial nobles, who were apt to view the pacific character of ecclesiastics with some degree of contempt, and who envied their power and wealth. By acting in concert with the King, they not only would gratify him, but avenge themselves, and hoped to aggrandize their own order, by depressing those who were their sole rivals. Secure of so powerful a concurrence, James ventured to proceed with greater boldness. In the first heat of resentment, he had driven the Earl of Angus out of the kingdom; and, sensible that a person so far superior to the other nobles in abilities, might create many obstacles which would retard or render ineffectual all his schemes, he solemnly swore, that he would never permit him to return into Scotland; and, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of the King of England, he adhered to his vow with unrelenting obstinacy. He then proceeded to repair the fortifications of

BOOK I. of Edinburgh, Stirling, and other caſtles, and to fill his magazines with arms and ammunition. Having taken theſe precautions by way of defence, he began to treat the nobility with the utmoſt coldneſs and reſerve. Thoſe offices, which they were apt, from long poſſeſſion, to conſider as appropriated to their order, were now beſtowed on eccleſiaſtics, who alone poſſeſſed the King's ear, and, together with a few gentlemen of inferior rank, to whom he had communicated his ſchemes, were intruſted with the management of all public affairs. Theſe miniſters were choſen with judgment; and Cardinal Beatoun, who ſoon became the moſt eminent among them, was a man of ſuperior genius. Theſe ſerved the King with fidelity, they carried on his meaſures with vigour, with reputation, and with ſucceſs. James no longer concealed his diſtruſt of the nobles, and ſuffered no opportunity of mortifying them to eſcape. Slight offences were aggravated into real crimes, and puniſhed with ſeverity. Every accuſation againſt perſons of rank was heard with pleaſure, every appearance of guilt was examined with rigour, and every trial proved fatal to thoſe who were accuſed: the baniſhing Hepburn Earl of Bothwell for reaſons extremely frivolous, beheading the eldeſt ſon of Lord Forbes without ſufficient evidence of his guilt, and the condemning Lady Glamis, a ſiſter of the Earl of Angus, to be burnt for the crime of witchcraft, of which even that credulous age believed her innocent, are monuments both of the King's hatred of the

nobility,

nobility, of the ſeverity of his government, and of the ſtretches he made towards abſolute power. By theſe acts of authority, he tried the ſpirit of the nobles, and how much they were willing to bear. Their patience increaſed his contempt for them, and added to the ardour and boldneſs with which he purſued his plan. Meanwhile they obſerved the tendency of his ſchemes with concern, and with reſentment; but the King's ſagacity, the vigilance of his miniſters, and the want of a proper leader, made it dangerous to concert any meaſures for their defence, and impoſſible to act with becoming vigour. James and his counſellors, by a falſe ſtep which they took, preſented to them, at length, an advantage which they did not fail to improve.

Motives, which are well known, had prompted Henry VIII. to diſclaim the Pope's authority, and to ſeize the revenues of the regular clergy. His ſyſtem of reformation ſatisfied none of his ſubjects. Some were enraged becauſe he had proceeded ſo far, others murmured becauſe he proceeded no farther. By his imperious temper, and alternate perſecutions of the zealots for popery, and the converts to the Proteſtant opinions, he was equally formidable to both. Henry was afraid that this general diſſatisfaction of his people might encourage his enemies on the continent to invade his kingdom. He knew that both the Pope and the Emperor courted the friendſhip of the King of Scots, and endeavoured to engage him in an alliance againſt

BOOK I. against England. He resolved, therefore, to disappoint the effects of their negociations, by entering into a closer union with his nephew. In order to accomplish this, he transmitted to James an elaborate memorial, presenting the numerous encroachments of the See of Rome upon the rights of sovereigns[e]; and that he might induce him more certainly to adopt the same measures for abolishing Papal usurpation, which had proved so efficacious in England, he sent ambassadors into Scotland, to propose a personal interview with him at York. It was plainly James's interest to accept this invitation; the assistance of so powerful an ally, the high honours which were promised him, and the liberal subsidies he might have obtained, would have added no little dignity to his domestic government, and must have greatly facilitated the execution of his favourite plan. On the other hand, a war with England, which he had reason to apprehend if he rejected Henry's offers of friendship, was inconsistent with all his views. This would bring him to depend on his barons; an army could not be raised without their assistance: to call nobles incensed against their Prince into the field, was to unite his enemies, to make them sensible of their own strength, and to afford them an opportunity of revenging their wrongs. James, who was not ignorant that all these consequences might follow a breach with England, listened at first to Henry's pro-

[e] Strype, Eccles. Mem. 1. App. 155.

posal,

poſal, and conſented to the interview at York. But the clergy dreaded an union, which muſt have been eſtabliſhed on the ruins of the church. Henry had taken great pains to infuſe into his nephew his own ſentiments concerning religion, and had frequently ſolicited him, by ambaſſadors, to renounce the uſurped dominion of the Pope, which was no leſs diſhonourable to Princes than grievous to their ſubjects. The clergy had hitherto, with great addreſs, diverted the King from regarding theſe ſolicitations. But in an amicable conference, Henry expected, and they feared, that James would yield to his intreaties, or be convinced by his arguments. They knew that the revenues of the church were an alluring object to a Prince who wanted money, and who loved it; that the pride and ambition of eccleſiaſtics raiſed the indignation of the nobles; that their indecent lives gave offence to the people; that the Proteſtant opinions were ſpreading faſt throughout the nation; and that an univerſal defection from the eſtabliſhed church would be the conſequence of giving the ſmalleſt degree of encouragement to theſe principles. For theſe reaſons, they employed all their credit with the King, and had recourſe to every artifice and inſinuation, in order to divert him from a journey, which muſt have been ſo fatal to their intereſt. They endeavoured to inſpire him with fear, by magnifying the danger to which he would expoſe his perſon by venturing ſo far into England, without any ſecurity but the word of a Prince,

BOOK I.

Prince, who, having violated every thing venerable and ſacred in religion, was no longer to be truſted; and by way of compenſation for the ſums which he might have received from Henry, they offered an annual donative of fifty thouſand crowns; they promiſed to contribute liberally towards carrying on a war with England, and flattered him with the proſpect of immenſe riches, ariſing from the forfeiture of perſons who were to be tried and condemned as heretics. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, James broke his agreement with Henry, who, in expectation of meeting him, had already come to York; and that haughty and impatient monarch reſented the affront, by declaring war againſt Scotland. His army was ſoon ready to invade the kingdom. James was obliged to have recourſe to the nobles, for the defence of his dominions. At his command, they aſſembled their followers, but with the ſame diſpoſitions which had animated their anceſtors in the reign of James III., and with a full reſolution of imitating their example, by puniſhing thoſe to whom they imputed the grievances of which they had reaſon to complain; and if the King's miniſters had not been men of abilities, ſuperior to thoſe of James III., and of conſiderable intereſt even with their enemies, who could not agree among themſelves what victims to ſacrifice, the camp of Fala would have been as remarkable as that of Lauder, for the daring encroachments of the nobility on the prerogative of the Prince. But though his miniſters were ſaved by this accident,

the nobles had ſoon another opportunity of diſcovering to the King their diſſatisfaction with his government, and their contempt of his authority. Scarcity of proviſions, and the rigour of the ſeaſon, having obliged the Engliſh army, which had invaded Scotland, to retire, James imagined, that he could attack them, with great advantage, in their retreat; but the principal barons, with an obſtinacy and diſdain which greatly aggravated their diſobedience, refuſed to advance a ſtep beyond the limits of their own country. Provoked by this inſult to himſelf, and ſuſpicious of a new conſpiracy againſt his miniſters, the King inſtantly diſbanded an army which paid ſo little regard to his orders, and returned abruptly into the heart of the kingdom.

An ambitious and high-ſpirited Prince could not brook ſuch a mortifying affront. His hopes of ſucceſs had been raſh, and his deſpair upon a diſappointment was exceſſive. He felt himſelf engaged in an unneceſſary war with England, which, inſtead of yielding him the laurels and triumphs that he expected, had begun with ſuch circumſtances, as encouraged the inſolence of his ſubjects, and expoſed him to the ſcorn of his enemies. He ſaw how vain and ineffectual all his projects to humble the nobles had been, and that, though in times of peace, a Prince may endeavour to depreſs them, they will riſe, during war, to their former importance and dignity. Impatience, reſentment, indignation, filled his boſom by turns. The violence of theſe paſſions

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASW

paſſions altered his temper, and, perhaps, impaired his reaſon. He became penſive, ſullen and retired. He ſeemed, through the day, to be ſwallowed up in profound meditation, and, through the night, he was diſturbed with thoſe viſionary terrors which make impreſſion upon a weak underſtanding only, or a diſordered fancy. In order to revive the King's ſpirits, an inroad on the weſtern borders was concerted by his miniſters, who prevailed upon the barons in the neighbouring provinces to raiſe as many troops as were thought neceſſary, and to enter the enemy's country. But nothing could remove the King's averſion to his nobility, or diminiſh his jealouſy of their power. He would not even intruſt them with the command of the forces which they had aſſembled; that was reſerved for Oliver Sinclair his favourite, who no ſooner appeared to take poſſeſſion of the dignity conferred upon him, than rage and indignation occaſioned an univerſal mutiny in the army. Five hundred Engliſh, who happened to be drawn up in ſight, attacked the Scots in this diſorder. Hatred to the King, and contempt of their general, produced an effect to which there is no parallel in hiſtory. They overcame the fear of death, and the love of liberty; and ten thouſand men fled before a number ſo far inferior, without ſtriking a ſingle blow. No man was deſirous of a victory which would have been acceptable to the King, and to his favourite; few endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight; the Engliſh had the choice of what priſoners they

they pleaſed to take; and almoſt every perſon of diſtinction, who was engaged in the expedition, remained in their hands[f]. This aſtoniſhing event was a new proof to the King of the general diſaffection of the nobility, and a new diſcovery of his own weakneſs and want of authority. Incapable of bearing theſe repeated inſults, he found himſelf unable to revenge them. The deepeſt melancholy and deſpair ſucceeded to the furious tranſports of rage, which the firſt account of the rout of his army occaſioned. All the violent paſſions, which are the enemies of life, preyed upon his mind, and waſted and conſumed a youthful and vigorous conſtitution. Some authors of that age impute his untimely death to poiſon; but the diſeaſes of the mind, when they riſe to an height, are often mortal; and the known effects of diſappointment, anger, and reſentment, upon a ſanguine and impetuous temper, ſufficiently account for his unhappy fate. "His death (ſays Drummond) proveth his mind to have been raiſed to an high ſtrain, and above mediocrity; he could die, but could not digeſt a diſaſter." Had James ſurvived this misfortune, one of two things muſt have happened: either the violence of his temper would have engaged him openly to attack the nobles, who would have

[f] According to an account of this event in the Hamilton MSS. about thirty were killed, above a thouſand were taken priſoners; and among them, a hundred and fifty perſons of condition. Vol. ii. 286. The ſmall number of the Engliſh prevented their taking more priſoners.

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BOOK I.

found in Henry a willing and powerful protector, and have derived the fame affiftance from him, which the malecontents, in the fucceeding reign, did from his daughter Elizabeth; in that cafe a dangerous civil war muft have been the certain confequence. Or, perhaps, neceffity might have obliged him to accept of Henry's offers, and be reconciled to his nobility. In that event the church would have fallen a facrifice to their union; a reformation, upon Henry's plan, would have been eftablifhed by law; a great part of the temporalities of the church would have been feized; and the friendfhip of the King and barons would have been cemented by dividing its fpoils.

Such were the efforts of our Kings towards reducing the exorbitant power of the nobles. If they were not attended with fuccefs, we muft not, for that reafon, conclude that they were not conducted with prudence. Every circumftance feems to have combined againft the crown. Accidental events concurred with political caufes, in rendering the beft-concerted meafures abortive. The affaffination of one King, the fudden death of another, and the fatal defpair of a third, contributed no lefs than its own natural ftrength, to preferve the ariftocracy from ruin.

Amidst thefe ftruggles, the influence which our Kings poffeffed in their parliaments, is a circumftance feemingly inexplicable, and which merits particular attention. As thefe affemblies were compofed chiefly of the nobles, they, we

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are apt to imagine, muſt have dictated all their deciſions; but, inſtead of this, every King found them obſequious to his will, and obtained ſuch laws, as he deemed neceſſary for extending his authority. All things were conducted there with diſpatch and unanimity; and, in none of our hiſtorians, do we find an inſtance of any oppoſition formed againſt the court in parliament, or mention of any difficulty in carrying through the meaſures which were agreeable to the King. In order to account for this ſingular fact, it is neceſſary to inquire into the origin and conſtitution of parliament.

The extraordinary influence of the Scottiſh Kings in parliament.

THE genius of the feudal government, uniform in all its operations, produced the ſame effects in ſmall, as in great ſocieties; and the territory of a baron was, in miniature, the model of a kingdom. He poſſeſſed the right of juriſdiction, but thoſe who depended on him being free men, and not ſlaves, could be tried by their peers only; and, therefore, his vaſſals were bound to attend his courts, and to aſſiſt both in paſſing and executing his ſentences. When aſſembled on theſe occaſions, they eſtabliſhed, by mutual conſent, ſuch regulations as tended to the welfare of their ſmall ſociety; and often granted, voluntarily, ſuch ſupplies to their *Superior*, as his neceſſities required. Change now a ſingle name; in place of baron, ſubſtitute king, and we behold a parliament in its firſt rudiments, and obſerve the firſt exertions of thoſe powers, which its members now poſſeſs as judges, as legiſlators, and as diſpenſers of the public

The reaſons of it.

BOOK I. public revenues. Suitable to this idea, are the appellations of the *King's Court*[g], and of the *King's Great Council*, by which parliaments were anciently diſtinguiſhed; and ſuitable to this, likewiſe, were the conſtituent members of which it was compoſed. In all the feudal kingdoms, ſuch as held of the King *in chief* were bound, by the condition of their tenure, to attend and to aſſiſt in his courts. Nor was this eſteemed a privilege, but a ſervice[h]. It was exacted likewiſe of biſhops, abbots, and the greater eccleſiaſtics, who, holding vaſt poſſeſſions of the crown, were deemed ſubject to the ſame burden. Parliaments did not continue long in this ſtate. Cities gradually acquired wealth, a conſiderable ſhare of the public taxes were levied on them, the inhabitants grew into eſtimation, and, being enfranchiſed by the ſovereign, a place in parliament was the conſequence of their liberty, and of their importance. But as it would have been abſurd to confer ſuch a privilege, or to impoſe ſuch a burden on a whole community, every borough was permitted to chuſe one or two of its citizens to appear in the name of the corporation; and the idea of *repreſentation* was firſt introduced in this manner. An innovation, ſtill more important, naturally followed. The vaſſals of the crown were originally few in number, and extremely powerful; but as it is impoſſible to render property fixed and permanent,

[g] Du Cange, Voc. Curia.

[h] Du Cange, voc. Placitum, col. 519. Magna Charta, art. 14. Act. Jac. I. 1425. cap. 52.

many of their poſſeſſions came, gradually, and by various methods of alienation, to be ſplit and parcelled out into different hands. Hence aroſe the diſtinction between the *Greater* and the *Leſſer barons.* The former were thoſe who retained their original fiefs undivided, the latter were the new and leſs potent vaſſals of the crown. Both were bound, however, to perform all feudal ſervices, and, of conſequence, to give attendance in parliament. To the leſſer barons, who formed no inconſiderable body, this was an intolerable grievance. Barons ſometimes denied their tenure, boroughs renounced their right of electing, charters were obtained containing an exemption from attendance; and the anxiety with which our anceſtors endeavoured to get free from the obligation of ſitting in parliament, is ſurpaſſed by that only with which their poſterity ſolicit to be admitted there. In order to accommodate both parties, at once, to ſecure to the King a ſufficient number of members in his great council, and to ſave his vaſſals from an unneceſſary burden, an eaſy expedient was found out. The obligation to perſonal attendance was continued upon the greater barons, from which the leſſer barons were exempted, on condition of their electing, in each county, a certain number of *repreſentatives*, to appear in their name. Thus a parliament became complete in all its members, and was compoſed of lords ſpiritual and temporal, of knights of the ſhires, and of burgeſſes. As many cauſes contributed to bring government earlier to perfection in England

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BOOK I. than in Scotland; as the rigour of the feudal inftitutions abated fooner, and its defects were fupplied with greater facility in the one kingdom than in the other, England led the way in all thefe changes, and burgeffes and knights of the fhire appeared in the parliaments of that nation, before they were heard of in ours. Burgeffes were firft admitted into the Scottifh parliaments by Robert Bruce[i]; and in the preamble to the laws of Robert III., they are ranked among the conftituent members of that affembly. The leffer barons were indebted to James I. for a ftatute exempting them from perfonal attendance, and permitting them to elect reprefentatives: the exemption was eagerly laid hold on; but the privilege was fo little valued, that except one or two inftances, it lay neglected during one hundred and fixty years; and James VI. firft obliged them to fend reprefentatives regularly to parliament[k].

A.D. 1326.

1427.

A SCOTTISH parliament, then, confifted anciently of great barons, of ecclefiaftics, and a few reprefentatives of boroughs. Nor were thefe divided, as in England, into two houfes, but compofed one affembly, in which the Lord Chancellor prefided[l]. In rude ages, when the fcience

[i] Abercromby, i. 635.

[k] Effays on Brit. Antiq. Eff. II. Dalrymp. Hift. of Feud. Prop. ch. 8.

[l] In England, the peers and commons feem early to have met in feparate houfes; and James I. who was fond of imitating the Englifh in all their cuftoms, had probably an intention of introducing fome confiderable diftinction between the greater and leffer barons in Scotland; at leaft he determined that

ſcience of government was extremely imperfect among a martial people, unacquainted with the arts of peace, ſtrangers to the talents which make a figure in debate, and deſpiſing them, parliaments were not held in the ſame eſtimation as at preſent; nor did haughty barons love thoſe courts, in which they appeared with ſuch evident marks of inferiority. Parliaments were often haſtily aſſembled, and it was, probably, in the King's power, by the manner in which he iſſued his writs for that purpoſe, to exclude ſuch as were averſe from his meaſures. At a time when deeds of violence were common, and the reſtraints of law and decency were little regarded, no man could venture with ſafety to oppoſe the King in his own court. The great barons, or lords of parliament, were extremely few; even ſo late as the beginning of the reign of James VI.[m], they amounted only to fifty-three. The eccleſiaſtics equalled them in number, and being devoted implicitly to the crown, for reaſons which have been already explained, rendered all hopes of victory in any ſtruggle

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that their conſultations ſhould not be carried on under the direction of the ſame preſident; for by his law, A.D. 1327, it is provided, "that out of the commiſſioners of all the ſhires ſhall be choſen a wiſe and expert man, called the common ſpeaker of the parliament, who ſhall propoſe all and ſundry needs and cauſes pertaining to the commons in the parliament or general council." No ſuch ſpeaker, it would ſeem, was ever choſen: and by a ſubſequent law the Chancellor was declared perpetual preſident of parliament.

[m] And. Coll. vol. i. pref. 40.

 deſperate.

desperate. Nor were the nobles themselves so anxious as might be imagined, to prevent acts of parliament favourable to the royal prerogative; conscious of their own strength, and of the King's inability to carry these acts into execution without their concurrence, they trusted that they might either elude or venture to contemn them; and the statute revoking the King's property, and annexing alienated jurisdictions to the crown, repeated in every reign, and violated and despised as often, is a standing proof of the impotence of laws, when opposed to power. So many concurring causes are sufficient, perhaps, to account for the ascendant which our Kings acquired in parliament. But, without having recourse to any of these, a single circumstance, peculiar to the constitution of the Scottish parliament, the mentioning of which we have hitherto avoided, will abundantly explain this fact, seemingly so repugnant to all our reasonings concerning the weakness of the King, and the power of the nobles.

As far back as our records enable us to trace the constitution of our parliaments, we find a committee, distinguished by the name of *Lords of Articles*. It was their business to prepare and to digest all matters which were to be laid before the parliament. There was rarely any business introduced into parliament, but what had passed through the channel of this committee; every motion for a new law was first made there, and approved of, or rejected by the members of it; what they approved was formed

ſnto a bill, and preſented to parliament; and it ſeems probable, that what they rejected could not be introduced into the houſe. This committee owed the extraordinary powers veſted in it, to the military genius of the ancient nobles; too impatient to ſubmit to the drudgery of civil buſineſs, too impetuous to obſerve the forms, or to enter into the details neceſſary in conducting it, they were glad to lay that burden upon a ſmall number, while they themſelves had no other labour than ſimply to give, or to refuſe, their aſſent to the bills which were preſented to them. The lords of articles, then, not only directed all the proceedings of parliament, but poſſeſſed a negative before debate. That committee was choſen and conſtituted in ſuch a manner, as put this valuable privilege entirely in the King's hands. It is extremely probable, that our Kings once had the ſole right of nominating the lords of articles[n]. They came afterwards

[n] It appears from authentic records, that a parliament was appointed to be held March 12, 1566, and that the lords of articles were choſen and met on the 7th, five days before the aſſembling of parliament. If they could be regularly elected ſo long before the meeting of parliament, it is natural to conclude, that the Prince alone poſſeſſed the right of electing them. There are two different accounts of the manner of their election at that time, one by Mary herſelf, in a letter to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow: "We, accompanied with our nobility for "the time, paſt to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, for holding of "our parliament on the 7th day of this inſtant, and elected the "lords articulars." If we explain theſe words, according to the ſtrict grammar, we muſt conclude that the Queen herſelf elected them. It is, however, more probable that Mary meant to

afterwards to be elected by the parliament, and consisted of an equal number out of each estate, and most commonly of eight temporal and eight spiritual lords, of eight representatives of boroughs, and of the eight great officers of the crown. Of this body, the eight ecclesiastics, together with the officers of the crown, were entirely at the King's devotion, and it was scarce possible that the choice could fall on such temporal lords and burgesses as would unite in opposition to his measures. Capable either of influencing their election, or of gaining them when elected, the King commonly found the lords of articles no less obsequious to his will, than his own privy council; and, by means of his authority with them, he could put a negative upon his parliament before debate, as well as after it; and what may seem altogether incredible, the most limited Prince in Europe actually possessed, in one instance, a prerogative which the most absolute could never attain [o].

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to say, that the nobles then present with her, viz. her privy counsellors, and others, elected the lords of articles. Keith's Hist. of Scotland, p. 331. The other account is Lord Ruthven's, who expresly affirms that the Queen herself elected them. Keith's Append. 126. Whether we embrace the one or other of these opinions, is of no consequence. If the privy counsellors and nobles attending the court had a right to elect the lords of articles, it was equally advantageous for the crown, as if the Prince had had the sole nomination of them.

[o] Having deduced the history of the Committee of Lords of Articles as low as the subject of this preliminary book required, it may be agreeable, perhaps, to some of my readers, to know the

BOOK I.

State of Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

To this account of the internal conſtitution of Scotland, it will not be improper to add a view of the political ſtate of Europe at that period, where

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the ſubſequent variations in this ſingular inſtitution, and the political uſe which our Kings made of theſe. When parliaments became more numerous, and more conſiderable by the admiſſion of the repreſentatives of the leſſer barons, the preſerving their influence over the lords of articles became, likewiſe, an object of greater importance to our Kings. James VI. on pretence that the lords of articles could not find leiſure to conſider the great multitude of affairs laid before them, obtained an act, appointing four perſons to be named out of each *eſtate*, who ſhould meet twenty days before the commencement of parliament *, to receive all ſupplications, &c. and rejecting what they thought frivolous, ſhould engroſs in a book what they thought worthy the attention of the lords of articles. No proviſion is made in the act for the choice of this ſelect body, and the King would, of courſe, have claimed that privilege. In 1633, when Charles I. was beginning to introduce thoſe innovations which gave ſo much offence to the nation, he dreaded the oppoſition of his parliament, and in order to prevent that, an artifice was made uſe of to ſecure the lords of articles for the crown. The temporal peers were appointed to chooſe eight biſhops, and the biſhops eight peers; theſe ſixteen met together, and elected eight knights of the ſhire, and eight burgeſſes, and to theſe the crown officers were added as uſual. If we can only ſuppoſe eight perſons of ſo numerous a body, as the peers of Scotland were become by that time, attached to the court, theſe, it is obvious, would be the men whom the biſhops would chooſe, and of conſequence the whole lords of articles were the tools and creatures of the King. This practice, ſo inconſiſtent with liberty was aboliſhed during the civil war: and the ſtatute of James VI. was repealed. After the reſtoration, Parliaments became more ſervile than ever. What was only a temporary device, in the reign of Charles I. was, then,

* Act 222. P. 1594.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

BOOK I.

where the following hiſtory commences. A thorough knowledge of that general ſyſtem, of which every kingdom in Europe forms a part, is not leſs requiſite towards underſtanding the hiſtory of a nation, than an acquaintance with its peculiar government and laws. The latter may enable us to comprehend domeſtic occurrences and revolutions; but without the former, foreign tranſactions muſt be altogether myſterious and unintelligible. By attending to this, many dark paſſages in our hiſtory may be placed in a clear light; and where the bulk of hiſtorians have ſeen only the effect, we may be able to diſcover the cauſe.

The ſubverſion of the feudal government in France, and its declenſion in the neighbouring kingdoms, occaſioned a remarkable alteration in the

then, converted into a ſtanding law. "For my part," ſays the author from whom I have borrowed many of theſe particulars, "I ſhould have thought it leſs criminal in our Reſtoration Parliament, to have openly beſtowed upon the King a negative before debate, than, in ſuch an underhand artificial manner, to betray their conſtituents, and the nation." Eſſays on Brit. Antiq. 55. It is probable, however, from a letter of Randolph's to Cecil, 10 Aug. 1560, printed in the Appendix, that this parliament had ſome appearance of ancient precedent to juſtify their unworthy conduct. Various queſtions concerning the conſtituent members of the Scottiſh parliament; concerning the æra at which the repreſentatives of boroughs were introduced into that aſſembly; and concerning the origin and power of the committee of lords of articles, occur, and have been agitated with great warmth. Since the firſt publication of this work, all theſe diſputed points have been conſidered with calmneſs and accuracy in Mr. Wight's Inquiry into the Riſe and Progreſs of Parliament, &c. 4to Edit. p. 17, &c.

the political ſtate of Europe. Kingdoms, which were inconſiderable when broken, and parcelled out among nobles, acquired firmneſs and ſtrength, by being united into a regular monarchy. Kings became conſcious of their own power and importance. They meditated ſchemes of conqueſt, and engaged in wars at a diſtance. Numerous armies were raiſed, and great taxes impoſed for their ſubſiſtence. Conſiderable bodies of infantry were kept in conſtant pay; that ſervice grew to be honourable; and cavalry, in which the ſtrength of European armies had hitherto conſiſted, though proper enough for the ſhort and voluntary excurſions of barons who ſerved at their own expence, were found to be unfit either for making or defending any important conqueſt.

It was in Italy, that the powerful monarchs of France and Spain and Germany firſt appeared to make a trial of their new ſtrength. The diviſion of that country into many ſmall ſtates, the luxury of the people, and their effeminate averſion to arms, invited their more martial neighbours to an eaſy prey. The Italians, who had been accuſtomed to mock battles only, and to decide their interior quarrels by innocent and bloodleſs victories, were aſtoniſhed, when the French invaded their country, at the ſight of real war; and as they could not reſiſt the torrent, they ſuffered it to take its courſe, and to ſpend its rage. Intrigue and policy ſupplied the want of ſtrength. Neceſſity and ſelf-preſerva-

tion

BOOK I. tion led that ingenious people to the great ſecret of modern politics, by teaching them how to balance the power of one Prince, by throwing that of another into the oppoſite ſcale. By this happy device, the liberty of Italy was long preſerved. The ſcales were poiſed by very ſkilful hands; the ſmalleſt variations were attended to, and no Prince was allowed to retain any ſuperiority that could be dangerous.

A SYSTEM of conduct, purſued with ſo much ſucceſs in Italy, was not long confined to that country of political refinement. The maxim of preſerving a balance of power is founded ſo much upon obvious reaſoning, and the ſituation of Europe rendered it ſo neceſſary, that it ſoon became a matter of chief attention to all wiſe politicians. Every ſtep any Prince took was obſerved by all his neighbours. Ambaſſadors, a kind of honourable ſpies, authoriſed by the mutual jealouſy of Kings, reſided almoſt conſtantly at every different court, and had it in charge to watch all its motions. Dangers were foreſeen at a greater diſtance, and, prevented with more eaſe. Confederacies were formed to humble any power which roſe above its due proportion. Revenge or ſelf-defence were no longer the only cauſes of hoſtility, it became common to take arms out of policy; and war, both in its commencement and in its operations, was more an exerciſe of the judgment, than of the paſſions of men. Almoſt every war in Europe became general, and the moſt inconſiderable ſtates acquired importance,

portance, becauſe they could add weight to either ſcale.

FRANCIS I. who mounted the throne of France in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifteen, and Charles V. who obtained the Imperial crown in the year one thouſand five hundred and nineteen, divided between them the ſtrength and affections of all Europe. Their perpetual enmity was not owing ſolely either to perſonal jealouſy, or to the caprice of private paſſion, but was founded ſo much in nature and true policy, that it ſubſiſted between their poſterity for ſeveral ages. Charles ſucceeded to all the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria. No family had ever gained ſo much by wiſe and fortunate marriages. By acquiſitions of this kind the Auſtrian Princes roſe, in a ſhort time, from obſcure Counts of Hapſbourg, to be Archdukes of Auſtria and Kings of Bohemia, and were in poſſeſſion of the Imperial dignity by a ſort of hereditary right. Beſides theſe territories in Germany, Charles was heir to the crown of Spain, and to all the dominions which belonged to the houſe of Burgundy. The Burgundian provinces engroſſed, at that time, the riches and commerce of one half of Europe; and he drew from them, on many occaſions thoſe immenſe ſums, which no people without trade and liberty are able to contribute. Spain furniſhed him a gallant and hardy infantry, to whoſe diſcipline he was indebted for all his conqueſts. At the ſame time, by the diſcovery of the new world, a vein of wealth was opened to him, which all the extravagance

BOOK I.

of ambition could not exhauſt. Theſe advantages rendered Charles the firſt Prince in Europe; but he wiſhed to be more, and openly aſpired to univerſal monarchy. His genius was of that kind which ripens ſlowly, and lies long concealed; but it grew up, without obſervation, to an unexpected height and vigour. He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the characteriſtic virtues of all the different races of Princes to whom he was allied. In forming his ſchemes, he diſcovered all the ſubtility and penetration of Ferdinand his grandfather; he purſued them with that obſtinate and inflexible perſeverance which has ever been peculiar to the Auſtrian blood; and, in executing them, he could employ the magnanimity and boldneſs of his Burgundian anceſtors. His abilities were equal to his power, and neither of them would have been inferior to his deſigns, had not Providence, in pity to mankind, and in order to preſerve them from the worſt of all evils, Univerſal Monarchy, raiſed up Francis I. to defend the liberty of Europe. His dominions were leſs extenſive, but more united, than the Emperor's. His ſubjects were numerous, active, and warlike, lovers of glory, and lovers of their King. To Charles, power was the only object of deſire, and he purſued it with an unwearied and joyleſs induſtry. Francis could mingle pleaſure and elegance with his ambition; and, though he neglected ſome advantages, which a more phlegmatic or more frugal Prince would have improved, an active and intrepid courage ſupplied

all his defects, and checked or defeated many of the Emperor's designs.

THE rest of Europe observed all the motions of these mighty rivals with a jealous attention. On the one side, the Italians saw the danger which threatened Christendom, and, in order to avert it, had recourse to the expedient which they had often employed with success. They endeavoured to divide the power of the two contending monarchs into equal scales, and, by the union of several small states, to counterpoise him whose power became too great. But what they concerted with much wisdom, they were able to execute with little vigour; and intrigue and refinement were feeble fences against the incroachments of military power.

ON the other side, Henry VIII. of England held the balance with less delicacy, but with a stronger hand. He was the third Prince of the age in dignity and in power; and the advantageous situation of his dominions, his domestic tranquillity, his immense wealth, and absolute authority, rendered him the natural guardian of the liberty of Europe. Each of the rivals courted him with emulation; he knew it to be his interest to keep the balance even, and to restrain both, by not joining entirely with either of them. But he was seldom able to reduce his ideas to practice; he was governed by caprice more than by principle; and the passions of the man were an overmatch for the maxims of the King. Vanity and resentment were the great springs

BOOK I. ſprings of all his undertakings, and his neighbours eaſily found the way, by touching theſe, to force him upon many raſh and inconſiſtent enterpriſes. His reign was a perpetual ſeries of blunders in politics; and while he eſteemed himſelf the wiſeſt Prince in Europe, he was a conſtant dupe to thoſe who found it neceſſary, and could ſubmit, to flatter him.

In this ſituation of Europe, Scotland, which had hitherto waſted her ſtrength in the quarrels between France and England, emerged from her obſcurity, took her ſtation in the ſyſtem, and began to have ſome influence upon the fate of diſtant nations. Her aſſiſtance was frequently of conſequence to the contending parties, and the balance was often ſo nicely adjuſted, that it was in her power to make it lean to either ſide. The part aſſigned her, at this juncture, was to divert Henry from carrying his arms into the continent. That Prince having routed the French at Guinegat and inveſted Terouënne, France attempted to divide his forces, by engaging James IV. in that unhappy expedition which ended with his life. For the ſame reaſon Francis encouraged and aſſiſted the Duke of Albany to ruin the families of Angus and Home, which were in the intereſt of England, and would willingly have perſuaded the Scots to revenge the death of their King, and to enter into a new war with that kingdom. Henry and Francis having united not long after againſt the Emperor, it was the intereſt of both Kings, that the Scots ſhould continue inactive; and a long tranquillity was the

the effect of their union. Charles endeavoured to break this, and to embarrafs Henry by another inroad of the Scots. For this end he made great advances to James V. flattering the vanity of the young monarch, by electing him a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and by offering him a match in the Imperial family; while, in return for thefe empty honours; he demanded of him to renounce his alliance with France, and to declare war againft England. But James, who had much to lofe, and who could gain little by clofing with the Emperor's propofals, rejected them with decency, and, keeping firm to his ancient allies, left Henry at full liberty to act upon the continent with his whole ftrength.

Henry himfelf began his reign by imitating the example of his anceftors with regard to Scotland. He held its power in fuch extreme contempt, that he was at no pains to gain its friendfhip; but, on the contrary, he irritated the whole nation, by reviving the antiquated pretenfions of the crown of England to the fovereignty over Scotland. But his own experience, and the examples of his enemies, gave him a higher idea of its importance. It was impoffible to defend an open and extenfive frontier againft the incurfions of an active and martial people. During any war on the continent, this obliged him to divide the ftrength of his kingdom. It was neceffary to maintain a kind of army of obfervation in the north of England; and, after all precautions, the Scottifh borderers, who were fuperior

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SA

BOOK I. superior to all mankind in the practice of irregular war, often made successful inroads, and spread terror and desolation over many counties. He fell, at last, upon the true secret of policy, with respect to Scotland, which his predecessors had too little penetration to discover, or too much pride to employ. The situation of the country, and the bravery of the people, made the conquest of Scotland impossible; but the national poverty, and the violence of faction, rendered it an easy matter to divide, and to govern it. He abandoned, therefore, the former design, and resolved to employ his utmost address in executing the latter. It had not yet become honourable for one Prince to receive pay for another, under the more decent name of a subsidy. But, in all ages, the same arguments have been good in courts, and of weight with ministers, factious leaders, and favourites. What were the arguments by which Henry brought over so many to his interest during the minority of James V. we know by the original warrant still extant [p], for remitting considerable sums into Scotland. By a proper distribution of these, many persons of note were gained to his party, and a faction, which held secret correspondence with England, and received all its directions from thence, appears henceforward in our domestic contests. In the sequel of the history, we shall find Henry labouring to extend his influence in Scotland. His successors adopted

[p] Burn. Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 7.

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the ſame plan and improved upon it. The affairs of the two kingdoms became interwoven, and their intereſts were often the ſame. Elizabeth divided her attention almoſt equally between them, and the authority which ſhe inherited in the one, was not greater than that which ſhe acquired in the other.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK II.

BOOK II.

Birth of Mary, Dec. 8, 1542, and ſtate of the kingdom.

MARY, Queen of Scots, the daughter of James V. and Mary of Guiſe, was born a few days before the death of her father. The ſituation in which he left the kingdom alarmed all ranks of men with the proſpect of a turbulent and diſaſtrous reign. A war againſt England had been undertaken without neceſſity, and carried on without ſucceſs. Many perſons of the rank had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, in the unfortunate route near the firth of Solway, and were ſtill priſoners at London. Among the reſt of the nobles there was little union either in their views or in their affections; and the religious diſputes, occaſioned by the opinions of the Reformers, growing every day more violent, added to the rage of thoſe factions which are natural to a form of government nearly ariſtocratical.

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THE government of a Queen was unknown in Scotland, and did not imprint much reverence in the minds of a martial people. The government of an infant Queen was ſtill more deſtitute of real authority; and the proſpect of a long and feeble minority invited to faction by the hope of impunity. James had not even provided the common remedy againſt the diſorders of a minority, by committing to proper perſons the care of his daughter's education, and the adminiſtration of affairs in her name. Though he ſaw the clouds gathering, and foretold that they would quickly burſt into a ſtorm, he was ſo little able to diſperſe them, or to defend his daughter and kingdom againſt the imminent calamities, that, in mere deſpair, he abandoned them both to the mercy of fortune, and left open to every pretender the office of Regent, which he could not fix to his own ſatisfaction.

Pretenſions of Cardinal Beatoun to the Regency.

CARDINAL BEATOUN, who had for many years been conſidered as prime miniſter, was the firſt that claimed that high dignity; and, in ſupport of his pretenſions, he produced a teſtament[a], which he himſelf had forged in the name of the late King; and, without any other right, inſtantly aſſumed the title of Regent. He hoped, by the aſſiſtance of the clergy, the countenance of France, the connivance of the Queen Dowager, and the ſupport of the whole Popiſh faction, to hold by force what he had ſeized on by fraud. But Beatoun

[a] Sadler's Lett. 161. Haynes, State Papers, 486.

 had

had enjoyed power too long to be a favourite of the nation. Thoſe among the nobles who wiſhed for a reformation in religion dreaded his ſeverity, and others conſidered the elevation of a churchman to the higheſt office in the kingdom as a depreſſion of themſelves. At their inſtigation, James Hamilton Earl of Arran, and next heir to the Queen, rouſed himſelf from his inactivity, and was prevailed on to aſpire to that ſtation to which proximity of blood gave him a natural title. The nobles, who were aſſembled for that purpoſe, unanimouſly conferred on him the office of Regent; and the public voice applauded their choice[b].

Earl of Arran choſen Regent.

Character of Beatoun;

No two men ever differed more widely in diſpoſition and character, than the Earl of Arran and Cardinal Beatoun. The Cardinal was by nature of immoderate ambition; by long experience he had acquired addreſs and refinement; and inſolence grew upon him from continual ſucceſs. His high ſtation in the church placed him in the way of great civil employments; his abilities were equal to the greateſt of theſe; nor did he reckon any of them to be above his merit. As his own eminence was founded upon the power of the church of Rome, he was a zealous defender of that ſuperſtition, and for the ſame reaſon an avowed enemy to the doctrine of the Reformers. Political motives alone determined him to ſupport the one, or to oppoſe the other. His early application to public bu-

[b] Epiſt. Reg. Scot. vol. ii. p. 308.

ſineſs

ſineſs kept him unacquainted with the learning and controverſies of the age; he gave judgment, however, upon all points in diſpute, with a precipitancy, violence, and rigour, which contemporary hiſtorians mention with indignation.

of Arran.

THE character of the Earl of Arran was, in almoſt every thing, the reverſe of Beatoun's. He was neither infected with ambition, nor inclined to cruelty: the love of eaſe extinguiſhed the former, the gentleneſs of his temper preſerved him from the latter. Timidity and irreſolution were his predominant failings, the one occaſioned by his natural conſtitution, and the other ariſing from a conſciouſneſs that his abilities were not equal to his ſtation. With theſe diſpoſitions he might have enjoyed and adorned private life; but his public conduct was without courage, or dignity, or conſiſtence: the perpetual ſlave of his own fears, and, by conſequence, the perpetual tool of thoſe who found their advantage in practiſing upon them. But, as no other perſon could be ſet in oppoſition to the Cardinal, with any probability of ſucceſs, the nation declared in his favour with ſuch general conſent, that the artifices of his rival could not withſtand its united ſtrength.

Schemes of Henry VIII. with regard to Scotland.

THE Earl of Arran had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of his new dignity, when a negociation was opened with England, which gave birth to events of the moſt fatal conſequence to himſelf, and to the kingdom. After the death of James, Henry VIII. was no longer afraid of any interruption from Scotland to his deſigns againſt

 France;

BOOK II.

France; and immediately conceived hopes of rendering this ſecurity perpetual, by the marriage of Edward his only ſon with the young Queen of Scots. He communicated his intentions to the priſoners taken at Solway, and prevailed on them to favour it, by the promiſe of liberty, as the reward of their ſucceſs. In the mean time he permitted them to return into Scotland, that, by their preſence in the parliament which the Regent had called, they might be the better able to perſuade their countrymen to fall in with his propoſals. A cauſe intruſted to ſuch able and zealous advocates, could not well miſs of coming to an happy iſſue. All thoſe who feared the Cardinal, or who deſired a change in religion, were fond of an alliance, which afforded protection to the doctrine which they had embraced, as well as to their own perſons, againſt the rage of that powerful and haughty prelate.

Ill-conducted by himſelf.

But Henry's rough and impatient temper was incapable of improving this favourable conjuncture. Addreſs and delicacy in managing the fears, and follies, and intereſts of men, were arts with which he was utterly unacquainted. The deſigns he had formed upon Scotland were obvious from the marriage which he had propoſed, and he had not dexterity enough to diſguiſe or to conceal them. Inſtead of yielding to the fear or jealouſy of the Scots, what time and accident would ſoon have enabled him to recover, he at once alarmed and irritated the whole nation, by demanding that the Queen's perſon ſhould be immediately

immediately committed to his cuftody, and that the government of the kingdom fhould be put into his hands during her minority.

BOOK II.

Henry could not have prefcribed more ignominious conditions to a conquered people, and it is no wonder they were rejected, with indignation, by men who fcorned to purchafe an alliance with England at the price of their own liberty. The Parliament of Scotland, however, influenced by the nobles who returned from England; defirous of peace with that kingdom; and delivered, by the Regent's confining the Cardinal as a prifoner, from an oppofition to which he might have given rife; confented to a treaty of marriage and of union, but upon terms fomewhat more equal. After fome dark and unfuccefsful intrigues, by which his ambaffador endeavoured to carry off the young Queen and Cardinal Beatoun into England, Henry was obliged to give up his own propofals, and to accept of theirs. On his fide he confented that the Queen fhould continue to refide in Scotland, and himfelf remain excluded from any fhare in the government of the kingdom. On the other hand, the Scots agreed to fend their Sovereign into England as foon as fhe attained the full age of ten years, and inftantly to deliver fix perfons of the firft rank to be kept as hoftages by Henry till the Queen's arrival at his court.

Odious to the Scots, though in part accepted by them.

March 12, 1543.

The treaty was ftill fo manifeftly of advantage to England, that the Regent loft much of the public confidence by confenting to it. The Cardinal, who had now recovered liberty, watched for

Favoured by the Regent.

BOOK II.

Oppofed by the Cardinal.

for fuch an opportunity of regaining credit, and he did not fail to cultivate and improve this to the utmoft. He complained loudly that the Regent had betrayed the kingdom to its moft inveterate enemies, and facrificed its honour to his own ambition. He foretold the extinction of the true Catholic religion, under the tyranny of an excommunicated heretic; but, above all, he lamented to fee an ancient kingdom confenting to its own fervitude, defcending into the ignominious ftation of a dependent province; and, in one hour, the weaknefs or treachery of a fingle man furrendering every thing for which the Scottifh nation had ftruggled and fought during fo many ages. Thefe remonftrances of the Cardinal were not without effect. They were addreffed to prejudices and paffions which are deeply rooted in the human heart. The fame hatred to the ancient enemies of their country, the fame jealoufy of national honour, and pride of independence, which, at the beginning of the prefent century, went near to prevent the Scots from confenting to an union with England, upon terms of great advantage, did, at that time, induce the whole nation to declare againft the alliance which had been concluded. In the one period, an hundred and fifty years of peace between the two nations, the habit of being fubjected to the fame King, and governed by the fame maxims, had confiderably abated old animofities, and prepared both people for incorporating. In the other, injuries were ftill frefh, the wounds on both fides were open, and, in

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the warmth of refentment it was natural to feek revenge, and to be averfe from reconcilement. At the Union in one thoufand feven hundred and feven, the wifdom of Parliament defpifed the groundlefs murmurs occafioned by antiquated prejudices; but in one thoufand five hundred and forty-three, the complaints of the nation were better founded, and urged with a zeal and unanimity, which it is neither juft nor fafe to difregard. A rafh meafure of the Englifh Monarch added greatly to the violence of this national animofity. The Scots, relying on the treaty of marriage and union, fitted out feveral fhips for France, with which their trade had been interrupted for fome time. Thefe were driven by ftrefs of weather to take refuge in different ports of England; and Henry under pretext that they were carrying provifions to a kingdom with which he was at war, ordered them to be feized and condemned as lawful prizes [c]. The Scots, aftonifhed at this proceeding of a Prince, whofe intereft it was manifeftly, at that juncture, to court and to footh them, felt it not only as an injury but as an infult, and expreffed all the refentment natural to a high-fpirited people [d]. Their rage rofe to fuch an height, that the Englifh ambaffador

[c] Keith, 32. 34. Epift. Reg. Scot. ii. App. 311. Hamilton MSS. vol. i. p. 389.

[d] In the MS. Collection of Papers belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, Sir Ralph Sadler defcribes the fpirit of the Scots as extremely outrageous. In his letter from Edinburgh, September 1, 1543, he fays: "The ftay of the fhips has brought the people of this town, both men and women, and efpecially the

BOOK II.

ambaſſador could hardly be protected from it. One ſpirit ſeemed now to animate all orders of men. The clergy offered to contribute a great ſum towards preſerving the church from the dominion of a Prince, whoſe ſyſtem of reformation was ſo fatal to their power. The nobles, after having mortified the Cardinal ſo lately in ſuch a cruel manner, were now ready to applaud and to ſecond him, as the defender of the honour and liberty of his country.

He excites almoſt the whole nation againſt the Engliſh.

ARGYLL, Huntly, Bothwell, and other powerful barons, declared openly againſt the alliance

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the merchants, into ſuch a rage and fury, that the whole town is commoved againſt me, and ſwear great oaths, that if their ſhips are not reſtored, that they would have their amends of me and mine, and that they would ſet my houſe here on fire over my head, ſo that one of us ſhould not eſcape alive; and alſo it hath much incenſed and provoked the people againſt the governor, ſaying, that he hath coloured a peace with Your Majeſty only to undo them. This is the unreaſonableneſs of the people, which live here in ſuch a beaſtly liberty, that they neither regard God nor governor; nor yet juſtice, or any good policy, doth take place among them; aſſuring Your Highneſs that, unleſs the ſhips be delivered, there will be none abiding here for me without danger." Vol. i. 451. In his letter of September 5, he writes, that the rage of the people ſtill continued ſo violent, "that neither I nor any of my folks dare go out of my doors; and the provoſt of the town, who hath much ado to ſtay them from aſſaulting me in my houſe, and keepeth watch therefore nightly, hath ſent to me ſundry times, and prayed me to keep myſelf and my folks within, for it is ſcant in his power to repreſs or reſiſt the fury of the people. They ſay plainly, I ſhall never paſs out of the town alive, except they have their ſhips reſtored. This is the rage and beaſtlineſs of this nation, which God keep all honeſt men from." Ib. 471.

with

with England. By their aſſiſtance, the Cardinal ſeized on the perſons of the young Queen and her mother, and added to his party the ſplendour and authority of the royal name[c]. He received, at the ſame time, a more real acceſſion to his ſtrength, by the arrival of Mathew Stewart Earl of Lennox, whoſe return from France he had earneſtly ſolicited. This young nobleman was the hereditary enemy of the houſe of Hamilton. He had many claims upon the Regent, and pretended a right to exclude him, not only from ſucceeding to the crown, but to deprive him of the poſſeſſion of his private fortune. The Cardinal flattered his vanity with the proſpect of marrying the Queen Dowager, and affected to treat him with ſo much reſpect, that the Regent became jealous of him as a rival in power.

This ſuſpicion was artfully heightened by the Abbot of Paiſley, who returned into Scotland ſome time before the Earl of Lennox, and acted in concert with the Cardinal. He was a natural brother of the Regent, with whom he had great credit; a warm partiſan of France, and a zealous defender of the eſtabliſhed religion. He took hold of the Regent by the proper handle, and endeavoured to bring about a change in his ſentiments, by working upon his fears. The deſertion of the nobility, the diſaffection of the clergy, and the rage of the people; the reſentment of France, the power of the Cardinal, and

[c] Keith's Hiſt. of Scotl. 30.

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BOOK II.

the pretensions of Lennox, were all represented with aggravation, and with their most threatening aspect.

Obliges the Regent to renounce the friendship with England;

MEANWHILE, the day appointed for the ratification of the treaty with England, and the delivery of the hostages, approached, and the Regent was still undetermined in his own mind. He acted to the last with that irresolution and inconsistence which is peculiar to weak men when they are so unfortunate as to have the chief part in the conduct of difficult affairs. On the 25th of August, he ratified a treaty with Henry[f], and proclaimed the Cardinal, who still continued to oppose it, an enemy to his country. On the third of September he secretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the Cardinal at Callendar, renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interests of France[g].

HENRY, in order to gain the Regent, had not spared the most magnificent promises. He had offered to give the Princess Elizabeth in marriage to his eldest son, and to constitute him King of that part of Scotland which lies beyond the river Forth. But, upon finding his interest in the kingdom to be less considerable than he had imagined, the English Monarch began to treat him with little respect. The young Queen was now in the custody of his enemies, who grew every day more numerous and more popular. They formed a separate court at Stirling, and threatened to elect another Regent. The

[f] Rymer, Fœd. xv. p. 4.

[g] Sadler, 339. 356. Hamilton MS. i. 470, &c.

French

French King was ready to afford them his protection, and the nation, out of hatred to the English, would have united in their defence. In this ſituation, the Regent could not retain his authority, without a ſudden change of his meaſures; and though he endeavoured, by ratifying the treaty, to preſerve the appearances of good faith with England, he was obliged to throw himſelf into the arms of the party which adhered to France.

and to perſecute the Reformers.

SOON after this ſudden revolution in his political principles, the Regent changed his ſentiments concerning religion. The ſpirit of controverſy was then new and warm; books of that kind were eagerly read by men of every rank; the love of novelty, or the conviction of truth, had led the Regent to expreſs great eſteem for the writings of the Reformers; and having been powerfully ſupported by thoſe who had embraced their opinions, he, in order to gratify them, entertained, in his own family, two of the moſt noted preachers of the Proteſtant doctrine, and, in his firſt parliament, conſented to an act, by which the laity were permitted to read the ſcriptures in a language which they underſtood[h]. Truth needed only a fair hearing to be an over-match for error. Abſurdities, which had long impoſed on the ignorance and credulity of mankind, were detected and expoſed to public ridicule; and, under the countenance of the Regent, the Reformation made

[h] Keith, p. 36, 37.

great

BOOK II.

great advances. The Cardinal obſerved its progreſs with concern, and was at the utmoſt pains to obſtruct it. He repreſented to the Regent his great imprudence in giving encouragement to opinions ſo favourable to Lennox's pretenſions; that his own legitimacy depended upon the validity of a ſentence of divorce, founded on the Pope's authority; and that by ſuffering it to be called in queſtion, he weakened his own title to the ſucceſſion, and furniſhed his rival with the only argument by which it could be rendered doubtful[i]. Theſe inſinuations made a deep impreſſion on the Regent's timorous ſpirit, who, at the proſpect of ſuch imaginary danger, was as much ſtartled as the Cardinal could have wiſhed; and his zeal for the Proteſtant religion was not long proof againſt his fear. He publicly abjured the doctrine of the Reformers in the Franciſcan church at Stirling, and declared not only for the political, but the religious opinions of his new confidents.

The Proteſtant doctrine did not ſuffer much by his apoſtacy. It had already taken ſo deep

[i] The pretenſions of the Earl of Lennox to the ſucceſſion were thus founded. Mary, the daughter of James II. was married to James Lord Hamilton, whom James III. created Earl of Arran on that account. Elizabeth, a daughter of that marriage, was the wife of Matthew Earl of Lennox, and the preſent Earl was her grandſon. The Regent was likewiſe the grandſon of the Princeſs Mary. But his father having married Janet Beatoun the Regent's mother, after he had obtained a divorce from Elizabeth Home his former wife, Lennox pretended that the ſentence of divorce was unjuſt, and that the Regent being born while Elizabeth Home was ſtill alive, ought to be conſidered as illegitimate. Crawf. Peer. 192.

root in the kingdom, that no discouragement or severity could extirpate it. The Regent indeed consented to every thing that the zeal of the Cardinal thought necessary for the preservation of the established religion. The Reformers were persecuted with all the cruelty which superstition inspires into a barbarous people. Many were condemned to that dreadful death, which the church has appointed for the punishment of its enemies; but they suffered with a spirit so nearly resembling the patience and fortitude of the primitive martyrs, that more were converted than terrified by such spectacles.

Beatoun engrosses the chief direction of affairs.

THE Cardinal, however, was now in possession of every thing his ambition could desire; and exercised all the authority of a Regent, without the envy of the name. He had nothing to fear from the Earl of Arran, who having by his inconsistency forfeited the public esteem, was contemned by one half of the nation, and little trusted by the other. The pretensions of the Earl of Lennox were the only thing which remained to embarrass him. He had very successfully made use of that nobleman to work upon the Regent's jealousy and fear, but as he no longer stood in need of such an instrument, he was willing to get rid of him with decency. Lennox soon began to suspect his intention; promises, flattery, and respect, were the only returns he had hitherto received for substantial services; but at last the Cardinal's artifices could no longer be concealed, and Lennox, instead of attaining power and dignity himself,

saw

BOOK II. ſaw that he had been employed only to procure theſe for another. Reſentment and diſappointed ambition urged him to ſeek revenge on that cunning prelate, who, by ſacrificing his intereſt, had ſo ungenerouſly purchaſed the Earl of Arran's friendſhip. He withdrew, for that reaſon, from court, and declared for the party at enmity with the Cardinal, which, with open arms, received a convert who added ſo much luſtre to their cauſe.

The two factions which divided the kingdom were ſtill the ſame, without any alterations in their views or principles; but, by one of thoſe ſtrange revolutions, which were frequent in that age, they had, in the courſe of a few weeks, changed their leaders. The Regent was at the head of the partiſans of France and the defenders of popery, and Lennox in the ſame ſtation with the advocates for the Engliſh alliance, and a reformation in religion. The one laboured to pull down his own work, which the other upheld with the ſame hand that had hitherto endeavoured to deſtroy it.

Lennox's impatience for revenge got the ſtart of the Cardinal's activity. He ſurpriſed both him and the Regent by a ſudden march to Edinburgh with a numerous army; and might eaſily have cruſhed them, before they could prepare for their defence. But he was weak enough to liſten to propoſals for an accommodation; and the Cardinal amuſed him ſo artfully, and ſpun out the treaty to ſuch a length, that the greater part of the Earl's troops, who

ferved, as is ufual wherever the feudal inftitutions prevailed, at their own expence, deferted him; and in concluding a peace, inftead of giving the law, he was obliged to receive it. A fecond attempt to retrieve his affairs ended yet more unfortunately. One body of his troops was cut to pieces, and the reft difperfed; and with the poor remains of a ruined party, he muft either have fubmitted to the conqueror, or have fled out of the kingdom, if the approach of an Englifh army had not brought him a fhort relief.

Henry invades Scotland.

HENRY was not of a temper to bear tamely the indignity with which he had been treated, both by the Regent and Parliament of Scotland, who, at the time when they renounced their alliance with him, had entered into a new and ftricter confederacy with France. The rigour of the feafon retarded for fome time the execution of his vengeance. But, in the fpring, a confiderably body of infantry, which was deftined for France, received orders to fail for Scotland, and a proper number of cavalry was appointed to join it by land. The Regent and Cardinal little expected fuch a vifit. They had trufted that the French war would find employment for all Henry's forces, and, from an unaccountable fecurity, were wholly unprovided for the defence of the kingdom. The Earl of Hertford, a leader fatal to the Scots in that age, commanded his army, and landed it, without oppofition, a few miles from Leith. He was quickly mafter of that place; and marching directly to Edinburgh, entered it with the fame eafe.

May 3, 1544.

BOOK II.

eaſe. After plundering the adjacent country, the richeſt and moſt open in Scotland, he ſet on fire both theſe towns, and upon the approach of ſome troops gathered together by the Regent, put his booty on board the fleet, and with his land forces retired ſafely to the Engliſh borders; delivering the kingdom in a few days from the terror of an invaſion, concerted with little policy, carried on at great expence, and attended with no advantage. If Henry aimed at the conqueſt of Scotland, he gained nothing by this expedition; if the marriage he had propoſed was ſtill in his view, he loſt a great deal. Such a rough courtſhip, as the Earl of Huntly humourouſly called it, diſguſted the whole nation; their averſion for the match grew into abhorrence; and, exaſperated by ſo many indignities, the Scots were never at any period more attached to France, or more alienated from England[k].

THE

[k] The violence of national hatred between the Engliſh and Scots in the ſixteenth century was ſuch as can hardly be conceived by their poſterity. A proof of the fierce reſentment of the Scots is contained in the note on pages 313 and 314. The inſtructions of the Privy Council of England to the Earl of Hertford, who commanded the fleet and army which invaded Scotland, A. D. 1544, are dictated by a national animoſity no leſs exceſſive. I found them in the collection of papers belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, and they merit publication, as they exhibit a ſtriking picture of the ſpirit of that period.

The Lords of the Council to the Earl of Hertford, Lieutenant in Scotland, April 10, 1544.

THE inſtruction begins with obſerving, that the King had originally intended to fortify Leith and keep poſſeſſion of it, but, after

THE Earl of Lennox alone, in ſpite of the Regent and French King, continued a correſpondence with England, which ruined his own intereſt, BOOK II.

after mature deliberation, he had finally determined not to make any ſettlement in Scotland at preſent, and therefore he is directed not to make any fortification at Leith, or any other place:

"But only for that journey to put all to fire and ſword, burn Edinburgh town, ſo uſed and defaced, that when you have gotten what you can of it, it may remain for ever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lightened upon it, for their falſehood and diſloyalty. Do what you can out of hand, and without long tarrying to beat down or overthrow the caſtle; ſack   houſes and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye may conveniently. Sack Leith, and ſubvert it, and all the reſt, putting man, woman, and child, to fire and ſword, without exception, when any reſiſtance ſhall be made againſt you; and this done, paſs over to the Fifeland, and extend like extremities and deſtruction to all towns and villages whereunto you may reach conveniently; not forgetting, amongſt all the reſt, ſo to ſpoil and turn upſide down the Cardinal's town of St. Andrew's as the upper ſort may be the nether, and not one *ſtoke* ſtand upon another, ſparing no creature alive within the ſame, ſpecially ſuch as either in friendſhip or blood be allied unto the Cardinal; and if ye ſee any likelyhood to win the caſtle give ſome ſtout eſſay to the ſame, and if it be your fortune to get it, raze and deſtroy it piece-meal; and after this ſort, ſpending one month there, ſpoiling and deſtroying as aforeſaid, with the wiſe foreſight that His Majeſty doubteth not ye will uſe that your enemies take no advantage of you, and that you enterprize nothing but what you ſhall ſee may be eaſily atchieved, His Majeſty thinketh verily, and ſo all we, ye ſhall find this *journey* ſucceedeth this way moſt to His Majeſty's honour," &c.

Theſe barbarous orders ſeem to have been executed with a rigorous and unfeeling exactneſs, as appears from a ſeries of letters from Lord Hertford, in the ſame collection, giving a full

 account

interest, without promoting Henry's[l]. Many of his own vassals, preferring their duty to their country before their affection to him, refused to concur in any design to favour the public enemy. After a few feeble and unsuccessful attempts to disturb the Regent's administration, he was obliged to fly for safety to the court of England, where Henry rewarded services which he had the inclination, but not the power to perform, by giving him in marriage his niece the Lady Margaret Douglas. This unhappy exile, however, was destined to be the father of a race of Kings. He saw his son Lord Darnly mount the throne of Scotland, to the perpetual exclusion of that rival who now triumphed in his ruin. From that time his posterity have held the sceptre in two kingdoms, by one of which he was cast out as a criminal, and by the other received as a fugitive.

A peace concluded.

MEANWHILE hostilities were continued by both nations, but with little vigour on either side. The historians of that age relate minutely the circumstances of several skirmishes and inroads which, as they did not produce any considerable effect, at this distance of time deserve no remembrance[m]. At last an end was put to this languid

account of all his operations in Scotland. They contain several curious particulars, not mentioned by the writers of that age, and with which both the historians of the city of Edinburgh were unacquainted: but they are of too great length to be inserted here.

[l] Rymer, xv, p. 22.

[m] Though this war was distinguished by no important or decisive action, it was, however, extremely ruinous to individuals. There

languid and inactive war, by a peace, in which England, France and Scotland were comprehended. Henry laboured to exclude the Scots

There ftill remain two original papers, which give us fome idea of the miferies to which fome of the moft fertile counties in the kingdom were expofed, by the fudden and deftructive incurfions of the borderers. The firft feems to be the report made to Henry by the Englifh wardens of the marches for the year 1544, and contains their exploits from the 2d of July to the 17th of November. The account it gives of the different inroads, or *forrays*, as they are called, is very minute: and in conclufion, the fum total of mifchief they did is thus computed:

Towns, towers, ftedes, barnekyns, parifh-churches, baftel-houfes, caft down or burnt	192
Scots flain	403
Prifoners taken	816
Nolt, i. e. horned cattle, taken	10,386
Sheep	12,492
Nags and geldings	1,296
Goats	200
Bolls of corn	850

Infight gear, i. e. houfehold furniture, not reckoned.

Haynes's State Papers, 43.

The other contains an account of an inroad by the Earl of Hertford, between the 8th and 23d of September, 1545; the narrative is more general, but it appears that he had burnt, rafed, and deftroyed, in the counties of Berwick and Roxburg only,

Monafteries and Friar-houfes	7
Caftles, towers, and piles	16
Markets towns	5
Villages	243
Milns	13
Hofpitals	3

All thefe were caft down or burnt. Haynes, 52. As the Scots were no lefs fkilful in the practice of irregular war, we may conclude that the damage which they did in England was not inconfiderable; and that their *raids* were no lefs wafteful than the *forrays* of the Englifh.

 from

BOOK II. from the benefit of this treaty, and to reserve them for that vengeance which his attention to the affairs of the continent had hitherto delayed. But although a peace with England was of the last consequence to Francis I., whom the Emperor was preparing to attack with all his forces, he was too generous to abandon allies who had served him with fidelity, and he chose rather to purchase Henry's friendship with disadvantage to himself, than to leave them exposed to danger. By yielding some things to the interest, and more to the vanity of that haughty Prince; by submission, flattery, and address, he at length prevailed to have the Scots included in the peace agreed upon.

The murder of Beatoun.

An event which happened a short time before the conclusion of this peace, rendered it more acceptable to the whole nation. Cardinal Beatoun had not used his power with moderation, equal to the prudence by which he attained it. Notwithstanding his great abilities, he had too many of the passions and prejudices of an angry leader of a faction, to govern a divided people with temper. His resentment against one party of the nobility, his insolence towards the rest, his severity to the Reformers, and, above all, the barbarous and illegal execution of the famous George Wishart, a man of honourable birth and of primitive sanctity, wore out the patience of a fierce age; and nothing but a bold hand was wanting to gratify the public wish by his destruction. Private revenge, inflamed and sanctified by a false zeal for religion,

gion, quickly ſupplied this want. Norman Leſly, the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Rothes, had been treated by the Cardinal with injuſtice and contempt. It was not the temper of the man, or the ſpirit of the times, quietly to digeſt an affront. As the profeſſion of his adverſary ſcreened him from the effects of what is called an honourable reſentment, he reſolved to take that ſatisfaction which he could not demand. This reſolution deſerves as much cenſure, as the ſingular courage and conduct with which he put it in execution excite wonder. The Cardinal at that time reſided in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, which he had fortified at great expence, and, in the opinion of the age, had rendered it impregnable. His retinue was numerous, the town at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependents. In this ſituation, ſixteen perſons undertook to ſurpriſe his caſtle, and to aſſaſſinate himſelf; and their ſucceſs was equal to the boldneſs of the attempt. Early in the morning they ſeized on the gate of the caſtle, which was ſet open to the workmen who were employed in finiſhing the fortifications; and having placed centries at the door of the Cardinal's apartment, they awakened his numerous domeſtics one by one, and turning them out of the caſtle, they without noiſe or tumult, or violence to any other perſon, delivered their country, though by a moſt unjuſtifiable action, from an ambitious man, whoſe pride was inſupportable to the nobles, as his

May 20, 1546.

 cruelty

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

BOOK II.

cruelty and cunning were great checks to the Reformation.

The Regent attempts in vain to ſeize the murderers.

His death was fatal to the Catholic religion, and to the French intereſt in Scotland. The ſame zeal for both continued among a great party in the nation, but when deprived of the genius and authority of ſo ſkilful a leader, operated with leſs effect. Nothing can equal the conſternation which a blow ſo unexpected occaſioned among ſuch as were attached to him; while the Regent ſecretly enjoyed an event, which removed out of his way a rival who had not only eclipſed his greatneſs, but almoſt extinguiſhed his power. Decency, however, the honour of the church, the importunity of the Queen Dowager and her adherents, his engagements with France, and, above all theſe, the deſire of recovering his eldeſt ſon, whom the Cardinal had detained for ſome time at St. Andrew's, in pledge of his fidelity, and who, together with the caſtle, had fallen into the hands of the conſpirators, induced him to take arms, in order to revenge the death of a man whom he hated.

He threatened vengeance, but was unable to execute it. One part of military ſcience, the art of attacking fortified places, was then imperfectly underſtood in Scotland. The weapons, the diſcipline, and impetuoſity of the Scots, rendered their armies as unfit for ſieges, as they were active in the field. An hundred and fifty men, which was the greateſt number the conſpirators ever aſſembled, reſiſted all the efforts of the

Regent

Regent for five months[n], in a place which a single battalion, with a few battering cannon, would now reduce in a few hours. This tedious siege was concluded by a truce. The Regent undertook to procure for the conspirators an absolution from the Pope, and a pardon in parliament; and upon obtaining these, they engaged to surrender the castle, and to set his son at liberty.

It is probable, that neither of them were sincere in this treaty. On both sides they sought only to amuse, and to gain time. The Regent had applied to France for assistance, and expected soon to have the conspirators at mercy. On the other hand, if Lesly and his associates were not at first incited by Henry to murder the Cardinal, they were, in the sequel, powerfully supported by him. Notwithstanding the silence of contemporary historians, there are violent presumptions of the former; of the latter there is undoubted certainty[o]. During the siege, the conspirators had received from England supplies both of money and provisions; and as Henry was preparing to renew his proposals concerning the marriage and the union he had projected, and to second his negotiations with a numerous army, they hoped, by concurring with him, to be in a situation in which they would no longer need a pardon, but might claim a reward[p].

THE

[n] Epist. Reg. Scot. 2. 379. [o] Keith, 60.

[p] In the first edition of this work, I expressed my suspicion of a correspondence between the murderers of Cardinal Beatoun and

BOOK II.

January 28, 1547.

The death of Henry blasted all these hopes. It happened in the beginning of next year, after a reign of greater splendour than true glory; bustling,

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and Henry VIII., prior to their committing that crime. In the papers of Duke Hamilton is contained the clearest evidence of this, which I publish not only to establish that fact, but as an additional confirmation of the remarks which I made upon the frequency of assassination in that age, and the slight opinion which men entertained concerning it.

The Earl of Hertford to the King's Majesty, Newcastle, April 17, 1544.

Pleaseth Your Highness to understand, that this day arrived with me the Earl of Hertford, a Scottishman called Wishert, and brought me a letter from the Lord of Brinstone [*i. e.* Chrichton Laird of Brunstan] which I send Your Highness herewith, and according to his request, have taken order for the repair of the said Wishert to Your Majesty by post, both for the delivery of such letters as he hath to Your Majesty from the said Brinstone, and also for the declaration of his credence, which as I perceive by him consisteth in two points, one that the Lord of Grange late Treasurer of Scotland, the master of Rothes, the Earl of Rothes' eldest son, and John Charteris, would attempt either to apprehend or slay the Cardinal, at some time when he shall pass through the Fife-land, as he doth sundry times in his way to St. Andrew's, and in case they can so apprehend him will deliver him unto Your Majesty, which attemplate, he saith, they would enterprize, if they knew Your Majesty's pleasure therein, and what supportation and maintainance Your Majesty would minister unto them, after the execution of the same, in case they should be pursued by any of their enemies; the other is, that in case Your Majesty would grant unto them a convenient entertainment to keep a 1000 or 1500 men in wages for a month or two, they journeying with the power of the Earl Marshal, the said Mr of Rothes, the Laird of Calder, and the other the Lord friends, will take upon them, at such time as Your Majesty's army shall be in Scotland, to destroy the abbey and town of Arbroath, being the

buſtling, rather than active; oppreſſive in domeſtic government, and in foreign politics wild and irregular. But the vices of this Prince were more beneficial to mankind, than the virtues of others. His rapaciousneſs, his profuſion, and even his tyranny, by depreſſing the ancient nobility, and by adding new property and power to the Commons, laid or ſtrengthened the foundations of the Engliſh liberty. His other paſſions contributed no leſs towards the downfall of popery, and the eſtabliſhment of religious freedom in the nation. His reſentment led him

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the Cardinals, and all the other Biſhops houſes and countries on that ſide of the water thereabout, and to apprehend all thoſe which they ſay be the principal impugnators of amity between England and Scotland; for which they ſhould have a good opportunity, as they ſay, when the power of the ſaid Biſhops and Abbots ſhall reſort towards Edinburgh to reſiſt Your Majeſty's army. And for the execution of theſe things, the ſaid Wiſhart ſaith, that the Earl Marſhal aforenamed and others will capitulate with Your Majeſty in writing under their hands and ſeals, afore they ſhall deſire any ſupply or aid of money at Your Majeſty's hands. This is the effect of his credence, with ſundry other advertiſements of the great diviſion that is at this preſent within the realm of Scotland, which we doubt not he will declare unto Your Majeſty at good length. Hamilton MSS. vol. iii. p. 38.

N. B. This is the letter of which Dr. Mackenzie, vol. iii. p. 18. and Biſhop Keith, Hiſt. p. 44., publiſhed a fragment. It does not authorize us to conclude that Mr. George Wiſhart, known by the name of the Martyr, was the perſon who reſorted to the Earl of Hertford. It was more probably John Wiſhart of Pitarrow, the chief of that name, a man of abilities, zealouſly attached to the reformed doctrine, and deeply engaged in all the intrigues and operations of that buſy period. Keith, 96. 117. 119. 315.

to

BOOK II.

to abolish the power, and his covetousness to seize the wealth, of the church; and, by withdrawing these supports, made it easy, in the following reign, to overturn the whole fabric of superstition.

Troops arrive from France.

FRANCIS I. did not long survive a Prince, who had been alternately his rival and his friend; but his successor Henry II. was not neglectful of the French interest in Scotland. He sent a considerable body of men, under the command of Leon Strozzi, to the Regent's assistance. By their long experience in the Italian and German wars, the French had become as dexterous in the conduct of sieges, as the Scots were ignorant; and as the boldness and despair of the conspirators could not defend them against the superior art of these new assailants, they, after a short resistance, surrendered to Strozzi, who engaged, in the name of the King his master, for the security of their lives; and, as his prisoners, transported them into France. The castle itself, the monument of Beatoun's power and vanity, was demolished, in obedience to the canon law, which, with admirable policy, denounces its anathemas even against the houses in which the sacred blood of a Cardinal happens to be shed, and ordains them to be laid in ruins [q].

Force the castle of St. Andrew's to surrender.

THE archbishopric of St. Andrew's was bestowed by the Regent upon his natural brother John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley.

[q] Burn. Hist. Ref. I. 338.

BOOK II.

New breach with England.

The delay of a few weeks would have faved the confpirators. Thofe minifters of Henry VIII. who had the chief direction of affairs during the minority of his fon Edward VI. conducted themfelves, with regard to Scotland, by the maxims of their late mafter, and refolved to frighten the Scots into a treaty, which they had not abilities or addrefs to bring about by any other method.

But before we proceed to relate the events which their invafion of Scotland occafioned, we fhall ftop to take notice of a circumftance unobferved by contemporary hiftorians, but extremely remarkable for the difcovery it makes of the fentiments and fpirit which then prevailed among the Scots. The confpirators againft Cardinal Beatoun found the Regent's eldeft fon in the caftle of St. Andrew's; and as they needed the protection of the Englifh, it was to be feared that they might endeavour to purchafe it, by delivering to them this important prize. The prefumptive heir to the crown in the hands of the avowed enemies of the kingdom, was a dreadful profpect. In order to avoid it, the Parliament fell upon a very extraordinary expedient. By an act made on purpofe, they excluded "the Regent's eldeft fon from all "right of fucceffion, public or private, fo long "as he fhould be detained a prifoner, and fub-"ftituted in his place his other brothers, ac-"cording to their feniority, and in failure of "them, thofe who were next heirs to the Re-"gent[r]." Succeffion by hereditary right is an

[r] Epift. Reg. Scot. 2. 359.

idea

BOOK II.

idea ſo obvious and ſo popular, that a nation ſeldom ventures to make a breach in it, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity. Such a neceſſity did the Parliament diſcover in the preſent ſituation. Hatred to England, founded on the memory of paſt hoſtilities, and heightened by the ſmart of recent injuries, was the national paſſion. This dictated that uncommon ſtatute by which the order of lineal ſucceſſion was ſo remarkably broken. The modern theories, which repreſent this right as divine and unalienable, and that ought not to be violated upon any conſideration whatſoever, ſeem to have been then altogether unknown.

Scotland invaded by the Engliſh.

In the beginning of September, the Earl of Hertford, now Duke of Somerſet, and Protector of England, entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thouſand men, and, at the ſame time, a fleet of ſixty ſhips appeared on the coaſt to ſecond his land forces. The Scots had for ſome time obſerved this ſtorm gathering, and were prepared for it. Their army was almoſt double to that of the enemy, and poſted to the greateſt advantage on a riſing ground above Muſſelburgh, not far from the banks of the river Eſke. Both theſe circumſtances alarmed the Duke of Somerſet, who ſaw his danger, and would willingly have extricated himſelf out of it, by a new overture of peace, on conditions extremely reaſonable. But this moderation being imputed to fear, his propoſals were rejected with the ſcorn which the confidence of ſucceſs inſpires; and if the conduct of the Regent, who commanded the

the Scottiſh army, had been in any degree equal to his confidence, the deſtruction of the Engliſh muſt have been inevitable. They were in a ſituation preciſely ſimilar to that of their countrymen under Oliver Cromwell in the following century. The Scots had choſen their ground ſo well, that it was impoſſible to force them to give battle; a few days had exhauſted the forage and proviſion of a narrow country; the fleet could only furniſh a ſcanty and precarious ſubſiſtence; a retreat therefore was neceſſary; but diſgrace, and perhaps ruin, were the conſequences of retreating.

On both theſe occaſions, the national heat and impetuoſity of the Scots ſaved the Engliſh, and precipitated their own country into the utmoſt danger. The undiſciplined courage of the private men became impatient at the ſight of an enemy. The General was afraid of nothing, but that the Engliſh might eſcape from him by flight; and leaving his ſtrong camp, he attacked the Duke of Somerſet near Pinkey, with no better ſucceſs than his raſhneſs deſerved. The Protector had drawn up his troops on a gentle eminence, and had now the advantage of ground on his ſide. The Scottiſh army conſiſted almoſt entirely of infantry, whoſe chief weapon was a long ſpear, and for that reaſon their files were very deep, and their ranks cloſe. They advanced towards the enemy in three great bodies, and, as they paſſed the river, were conſiderably expoſed to the fire of the Engliſh fleet, which lay in the bay of Muſſelburgh, and had drawn near

Battle of Pinkey.

September 10, 1547.

BOOK II.

near the ſhore. The Engliſh cavalry, fluſhed with an advantage which they had gained in a ſkirmiſh ſome days before, began the attack with more impetuoſity than good conduct. A body ſo firm and compact as the Scots eaſily reſiſted the impreſſion of cavalry, broke them, and drove them off the field. The Engliſh infantry, however, advanced, and the Scots were at once expoſed to a flight of arrows, to a fire in flank from four hundred foreign fuſileers who ſerved the enemy, and to their cannon, which were planted behind the infantry on the higheſt part of the eminence. The depth and cloſeneſs of their order making it impoſſible for the Scots to ſtand long in this ſituation, the Earl of Angus, who commanded the vanguard, endeavoured to change his ground, and to retire towards the main body. But his friends unhappily miſtook his motion for a flight, and fell into confuſion. At that very inſtant, the broken cavalry, having rallied, returned to the charge; the foot purſued the advantage they had gained; the proſpect of victory redoubled the ardour of both: and in a moment the rout of the Scottiſh army became univerſal and irretrievable. The encounter in the field was not long nor bloody; but in the purſuit, the Engliſh diſcovered all the rage and fierceneſs which national antipathy, kindled by long emulation, and inflamed by reciprocal injuries, is apt to inſpire. The purſuit was continued for five hours, and to a great diſtance. All the three roads by which the Scots fled, were ſtrewed with ſpears, and ſwords, and targets,

BOOK II.

targets, and covered with the bodies of the ſlain. Above ten thouſand men fell on this day, one of the moſt fatal Scotland had ever ſeen. A few were taken priſoners, and among theſe ſome perſons of diſtinction. The Protector had it now in his power to become maſter of a kingdom, out of which, not many hours before, he was almoſt obliged to retire with infamy[s].

But

[s] The following paſſage in a curious and rare journal of the Protector's expedition into Scotland, written by W. Patten, who was joined in commiſſion with Cecil, as judge martial of the army, and printed in 1548, deſerves our notice; as it gives a juſt idea of the military diſcipline of the Scots at that time. "But what after I learned, ſpecially touching their order, their armour, and their manner as well of going to offend, as of ſtanding to defend, I have thought neceſſary here to utter. Hackbutters have they few or none, and appoint their fight moſt commonly always a-foot. They come to the field well furniſhed all with jack and ſkull, dagger and buckler, and ſwords all broad and thin, of exceeding good temper, and univerſally ſo made to ſlice, that as I never ſaw none ſo good, ſo I think it hard to deviſe the better. Hereto every man his pike, and a great kercher wrapped twice or thrice about his neck, not for cold, but for cutting. In their array towards joining with the enemy, they cling and thruſt ſo near in the fore rank, ſhoulder and ſhoulder together, with their pikes in both their hands ſtraight afore them, and their followers in that order ſo hard at their backs, laying their pikes over their foregoers ſhoulders, that, if they do aſſail undiſcovered, no force can well withſtand them. Standing at defence they thruſt ſhoulders likewiſe ſo nigh together, the fore ranks well nigh to kneeling, ſtoop low before, their fellows behind holding their pikes with both hands, and therewith in their left their bucklers, the one end of their pike againſt their right foot, and the other againſt the enemy breaſt-high; their followers croſſing their pike points with them forward; and thus each with other ſo nigh as ſpace and place will ſuffer, through the whole ward, ſo thick, that as eaſily

BOOK II.

Their victory of little benefit to the Englifh.

But this victory, however great, was of no real utility, for want of fkill or of leifure to improve it. Every new injury rendered the Scots more averfe from an union with England; and the Protector neglected the only meafure which would have made it neceffary for them to have given their confent to it. He amufed himfelf in wafting the open country, and in taking or building feveral petty caftles; whereas, by fortifying a few places which were acceffible by fea, he would have laid the kingdom open to the Englifh, and, in a fhort time, the Scots muft either have accepted of his terms, or have fubmitted to his power. By fuch an improvement of it, the victory at Dunbar gave Cromwell the command of Scotland. The battle of Pinkey had no other effect but to precipitate the Scots into new engagements with France. The fituation of the Englifh court may, indeed, be pleaded in excufe for the Duke of Somerfet's conduct. That cabal of his enemies, which occafioned his tragical end, was already formed; and while he triumphed in Scotland, they fecretly undermined his power and credit at home. Self-prefervation, therefore, obliged him to prefer his fafety before

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eafily fhall a bare finger pierce through the fkin of an angry hedge-hog, as any encounter the front of their pikes." Other curious particulars are found in this journal, from which John Hayward has borrowed his account of this expedition. Life of Edward VI. 279, &c.

The length of the Scotch pike or fpear was appointed by Act 44 P. 1471, to be fix ells; i. e. eighteen feet fix inches.

his fame, and to return without reaping the fruits of his victory. At this time, however, the cloud blew over; the conspiracy by which he fell was not yet ripe for execution; and his presence suspended its effects for some time. The supreme power still remaining in his hands, he employed it to recover the opportunity which he had lost. A body of troops, by his command, seized and fortified Haddingtoun, a place which, on account of its distance from the sea, and from any English garrison, could not be defended without great expence and danger. April 1548.

Forces the Scots into a closer union with France,

MEANWHILE the French gained more by the defeat of their allies, than the English by their victory. After the death of Cardinal Beatoun, Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager, took a considerable share in the direction of affairs. She was warmly attached by blood, and by inclination, to the French interest: and, in order to promote it, improved with great dexterity every event which occurred. The spirit and strength of the Scots were broken at Pinkey; and in an assembly of nobles which met at Stirling to consult upon the situation of the kingdom, all eyes were turned towards France, no prospect of safety appearing but in assistance from that quarter. But Henry II. being then at peace with England, the Queen represented that they could not expect him to take part in their quarrel, but upon views of personal advantage; and that without extraordinary concessions in his favour, no assistance, in proportion to their present exigencies, could be obtained. The

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS...

BOOK II.

prejudices of the nation powerfully feconded thefe reprefentations of the Queen. What often happens to individuals, took place among the nobles in this convention; they were fwayed entirely by their paffions; and in order to gratify them, they deferted their former principles, and difregarded their true intereft. In the violence of refentment, they forgot that zeal for the independence of Scotland, which had prompted them to reject the propofals of Henry VIII.; and by offering, voluntarily, their young Queen in marriage to the Dauphin, eldeft fon of Henry II.; and, which was ftill more, by propofing to fend her immediately into France to be educated at his court, they granted, from a thirft of vengeance, what formerly they would not yield upon any confideration of their own fafety. To gain at once fuch a kingdom as Scotland, was a matter of no fmall confequence to France. Henry, without hefitation, accepted the offers of the Scottifh ambaffadors, and prepared for the vigorous defence of his new acquifition. Six thoufand veteran foldiers, under the command of Monfieur Deffé, affifted by fome of the beft officers who were formed in the long wars of Francis I. arrived at Leith. They ferved two campaigns in Scotland, with a fpirit equal to their former fame. But their exploits were not confiderable. The Scots, foon becoming jealous of their defigns, neglected to fupport them with proper vigour. The caution of the Englifh, in acting wholly upon the defenfive, prevented the French from attempting any enterprife

and to offer their Queen in marriage to the Dauphin.

enterprife of confequence; and obliged them to exhauft their ftrength in tedious fieges, undertaken under many difadvantages. Their efforts, however, were not without fome benefit to the Scots, by compelling the Englifh to evacuate Haddingtoun, and to furrender feveral fmall forts which they poffeffed in different parts of the kingdom.

But the effects of thefe operations of his troops were ftill of greater importance to the French King. The diverfion which they occafioned enabled him to wreft Boulogne out of the hands of the Englifh; and the influence of his army in Scotland obtained the concurrence of parliament with the overtures which had been made to him, by the affembly of nobles at Stirling, concerning the Queen's marriage with the Dauphin, and her education in the court of France. In vain did a few patriots remonftrate againft fuch extravagant conceffions, by which Scotland was reduced to be a province of France; and Henry, from an ally, raifed to be mafter of the kingdom; by which the friendfhip of France became more fatal than the enmity of England; and every thing was fondly given up to the one, that had been bravely defended againft the other. A point of fo much confequence was haftily decided in a parlament affembled in the camp before Haddingtoun: the intrigues of the Queen Dowager, the zeal of the clergy, and refentment againft England, had prepared a great party in the nation for fuch a ftep; the French general and ambaf-

The treaty for that purpofe concluded.

June 5, 1548.

 fador,

BOOK II.

ſador, by their liberality and promiſes, gained over many more. The Regent himſelf was weak enough to ſtoop to the offer of a penſion from France, together with the title of Duke of Chatelherault in that kingdom. A conſiderable majority declared for the treaty, and the intereſt of a faction was preferred before the honour of the nation.

Mary ſent to be educated in France.

HAVING hurried the Scots into this raſh and fatal reſolution, the ſource of many calamities to themſelves and to their ſovereign, the French allowed them no time for reflection or repentance. The fleet which had brought over their forces was ſtill in Scotland, and without delay conveyed the Queen into France. Mary was then ſix years old, and by her education in that court, one of the politeſt but moſt corrupted in Europe, ſhe acquired every accompliſhment that could add to her charms as a woman, and contracted many of thoſe prejudices which occaſioned her misfortunes as a Queen.

FROM the time that Mary was put into their hands, it was the intereſt of the French to ſuffer war in Scotland to languiſh. The recovery of the Boulonnois was the object which the French King had moſt at heart; but a ſlight diverſion in Britain was ſufficient to divide the attention and ſtrength of the Engliſh, whoſe domeſtic factions deprived both their arms and councils of their accuſtomed vigour. The government of England had undergone a great revolution. The Duke of Somerſet's power had been acquired with too much violence, and was exer-

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cifed with too little moderation, to be of long continuance. Many good qualities, added to great love of his country, could not atone for his ambition in ufurping the fole direction of affairs. Some of the moft eminent courtiers combined againft him; and the Earl of Warwick their leader, no lefs ambitious but more artful than Somerfet, conducted his meafures with fo much dexterity as to raife himfelf upon the ruins of his rival. Without the invidious name of Protector, he fucceeded to all the power and influence of which Somerfet was deprived, and he quickly found peace to be neceffary for the eftablifhment of his new authority, and the execution of the vaft defigns he had conceived.

Peace concluded.

HENRY was no ftranger to Warwick's fituation, and improved his knowledge of it to good purpofe, in conducting the negociations for a general peace. He prefcribed what terms he pleafed to the Englifh minifter who fcrupled at nothing, however advantageous to that monarch and his allies. England confented to reftore Boulogne and its dependencies to France, and gave up all pretenfions to a treaty of marriage with the Queen of Scots, or to the conqueft of her country. A few fmall forts, of which the Englifh troops had hitherto kept poffeffion, were rafed; and peace between the two kingdoms was eftablifhed on its ancient foundation.

March 24, 1550.

BOTH the Britifh nations loft power, as well as reputation, by this unhappy quarrel. It was on both fides a war of emulation and refentment, rather than of intereft; and was carried

BOOK II.

on under the influence of national animofities, which were blind to all advantages. The French, who entered into it with greater coolnefs, conducted it with more fkill; and by dexteroufly availing themfelves of every circumftance which occurred, recovered poffeffion of an important territory which they had loft, and added to their monarchy a new kingdom. The ambition of the Englifh minifter betrayed to them the former; the inconfiderate age of the Scots againft their ancient enemies beftowed on them the latter; their own addrefs and good policy merited both.

The Scots become jealous of the French.

IMMEDIATELY after the conclufion of the peace, the French forces left Scotland, as much to their own fatisfaction, as to that of the nation. The Scots foon found, that the calling to their affiftance a people more powerful than themfelves, was a dangerous expedient. They beheld, with the utmoft impatience, thofe who had come over to protect the kingdom, taking upon them to command in it; and on many occafions they repented the rafh invitation which they had given. The peculiar genius of the French nation heightened this difguft, and prepared the Scots to throw off the yoke, before they had well begun to feel it. The French were, in that age, what they are in the prefent, one of the moft polifhed nations in Europe. But it is to be obferved, in all their expeditions into foreign countries, whether towards the fouth or north, that their manners have been remarkably incompatible with the manners of every

every other people. Barbarians are tenacious of their own cuſtoms, becauſe they want knowledge and taſte to diſcover the reaſonableneſs and propriety of cuſtoms which differ from them. Nations, which hold the firſt rank in politeneſs, are frequently no leſs tenacious out of pride. The Greeks were ſo in the ancient world; and the French are the ſame in the modern. Full of themſelves; flattered by the imitation of their neighbours; and accuſtomed to conſider their own modes as the ſtandards of elegance; they ſcorn to diſguiſe, or to lay aſide, the diſtinguiſhing manners of their own nation, or to make any allowance for what may differ from them among others. For this reaſon, the behaviour of their armies has, on every occaſion, been inſupportable to ſtrangers, and has always expoſed them to hatred, and often to deſtruction. In that age, they over-ran Italy four ſeveral times by their valour, and loſt it as often by their inſolence. The Scots, naturally an iraſcible and high-ſpirited people, and who, of all nations, can leaſt bear the moſt diſtant inſinuation of contempt, were not of a temper to admit all the pretenſions of ſuch aſſuming gueſts. The ſymptoms of alienation were ſoon viſible; they ſeconded the military operations of the French troops with the utmoſt coldneſs; their diſguſt grew inſenſibly to a degree of indignation that could hardly be reſtrained; and on occaſion of a very ſlight accident, broke out with fatal violence. A private French ſoldier engaging in an idle quarrel with a citi-

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S S…

BOOK II.

a citizen of Edinburgh, both nations took arms with equal rage, in defence of their countrymen. The Provoſt of Edinburgh, his ſon, and ſeveral citizens of diſtinction, were killed in the fray; and the French were obliged to avoid the fury of the inhabitants, by retiring out of the city. Notwithſtanding the ancient alliance of France and Scotland, and the long intercourſe of good offices between the two nations, an averſion for the French took its riſe at this time among the Scots, the effects whereof were deeply felt, and operated powerfully through the ſubſequent period.

Progreſs of the Reformation.

From the death of Cardinal Beatoun, nothing has been ſaid of the ſtate of religion. While the war with England continued, the clergy had no leiſure to moleſt the Proteſtants; and they were not yet conſiderable enough to expect any thing more than connivance and impunity. The new doctrines were ſtill in their infancy; but during this ſhort interval of tranquillity, they acquired ſtrength, and advanced by large and firm ſteps towards a full eſtabliſhment in the kingdom. The firſt preachers againſt Popery in Scotland, of whom ſeveral had appeared during the reign of James V., were more eminent for zeal and piety, than for learning. Their acquaintance with the principles of the Reformation was partial, and at ſecond hand; ſome of them had been educated in England; all of them had borrowed their notions from the books publiſhed there; and in the firſt dawn of the new light, they did not venture far before their

leaders.

leaders. But in a ſhort time the doctrines and writings of the foreign reformers became generally known; the inquiſitive genius of the age preſſed forward in queſt of truth; the diſcovery of one error opened the way to others; the downfal of one impoſtor drew many after it; the whole fabric, which ignorance and ſuperſtition had erected in times of darkneſs, began to totter; and nothing was wanting to complete its ruin, but a daring and active leader to direct the attack. Such was the famous John Knox, who, with better qualifications of learning, and more extenſive views, than any of his predeceſſors in Scotland, poſſeſſed a natural intrepidity of mind, which ſet him above fear. He began his public miniſtry at St. Andrew's in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, with that ſucceſs which always accompanies a bold and popular eloquence. Inſtead of amuſing himſelf with lopping the branches, he ſtruck directly at the root of Popery, and attacked both the doctrine and diſcipline of the eſtabliſhed church, with a vehemence peculiar to himſelf, but admirably ſuited to the temper and wiſhes of the age.

An adverſary ſo formidable as Knox, would not have eaſily eſcaped the rage of the clergy, who obſerved the tendency and progreſs of his opinions with the utmoſt concern. But, at firſt, he retired for ſafety into the caſtle of St. Andrew's, and, while the conſpirators kept poſſeſſion of it, preached publicly under their protection. The great revolution in England,

which

BOOK II. which followed upon the death of Henry VIII., contributed no leſs than the zeal of Knox towards demoliſhing the Popiſh church in Scotland. Henry had looſened the chains, and lightened the yoke of Popery. The miniſters of his ſon Edward VI. caſt them off altogether, and eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant religion upon almoſt the ſame footing whereon it now ſtands in that kingdom. The influence of this example reached Scotland, and the happy effects of eccleſiaſtical liberty in one nation, inſpired the other with an equal deſire of recovering it. The reformers had, hitherto, been obliged to conduct themſelves with the utmoſt caution, and ſeldom ventured to preach, but in private houſes, and at a diſtance from court; they gained credit, as happens on the firſt publication of every new religion, chiefly among perſons in the lower and middle rank of life. But ſeveral noblemen, of the greateſt diſtinction, having, about this time, openly eſpouſed their principles, they were no longer under the neceſſity of acting with the ſame reſerve; and, with more ſecurity and encouragement, they had likewiſe greater ſucceſs. The means of acquiring and ſpreading knowledge became more common, and the ſpirit of innovation, peculiar to that period, grew every day bolder and more univerſal.

Happily for the Reformation, this ſpirit was ſtill under ſome reſtraint. It had not yet attained firmneſs and vigour ſufficient to overturn a ſyſtem founded on the deepeſt policy, and ſupported by the moſt formidable power. Under the

the preſent circumſtances, any attempt towards action muſt have been fatal to the Proteſtant doctrines; and it is no ſmall proof of the authority, as well as penetration, of the heads of the party, that they were able to reſtrain the zeal of a fiery and impetuous people, until that critical and mature juncture, when every ſtep they took was deciſive and ſucceſsful.

MEANWHILE their cauſe received reinforcement from two different quarters whence they never could have expected it. The ambition of the houſe of Guiſe, and the bigotry of Mary of England, haſtened the ſubverſion of the Papal throne in Scotland; and, by a ſingular diſpoſition of Providence, the perſons who oppoſed the Reformation in every other part of Europe with the fierceſt zeal, were made inſtruments for advancing it in that kingdom.

The Queen Dowager aſpires to the office of Regent.

MARY of Guiſe poſſeſſed the ſame bold and aſpiring ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed her family. But in her it was ſoftened by the female character, and accompanied with great temper and addreſs. Her brothers, in order to attain the high objects at which they aimed, ventured upon ſuch daring meaſures as ſuited their great courage. Her deſigns upon the ſupreme power were concealed with the utmoſt care, and advanced by addreſs and refinements more natural to her ſex. By a dexterous application of thoſe talents, ſhe had acquired a conſiderable influence on the councils of a nation hitherto unacquainted with the government of women; and, without the ſmalleſt right to any ſhare in the adminiſ-

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S...

BOOK II. administration of affairs, had engroffed the chief direction of them into her own hands. But fhe did not long reft fatisfied with the enjoyment of this precarious power, which the ficklenefs of the Regent, or the ambition of thofe who governed him, might fo eafily difturb; and fhe began to fet on foot new intrigues, with a defign of undermining him, and of opening to herfelf a way to fucceed him in that high dignity. Her brothers entered warmly into this fcheme, and fupported it with all their credit at the court of France. The French King willingly concurred in a meafure, by which he hoped to bring Scotland entirely under management, and, in any future broil with England, to turn its whole force againft that kingdom.

In order to arrive at the defired elevation, the Queen Dowager had only one of two ways to chufe; either violently to wreft the power out of the hands of the Regent, or to obtain it by his confent. Under a minority, and among a warlike and factious people, the former was a very uncertain and dangerous experiment. The latter appeared to be no lefs impracticable. To perfuade a man voluntarily to abdicate the fupreme power; to defcend to a level with thofe, above whom he was raifed; and to be content with the fecond place where he hath held a firft, may well pafs for a wild and chimerical project. This, however, the Queen attempted; and the prudence of the attempt was fufficiently juftified by its fuccefs.

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THE Regent's inconſtancy and irreſolution, together with the calamities which had befallen the kingdom under his adminiſtration, raiſed the prejudices both of the nobles and of the people againſt him, to a great height; and the Queen ſecretly fomented theſe with much induſtry. All who wiſhed for a change met with a gracious reception in her court, and their ſpirit of diſaffection was nouriſhed by ſuch hopes and promiſes, as in every age impoſe on the credulity of the factious. The favourers of the Reformation being the moſt numerous and ſpreading body of the Regent's enemies, ſhe applied to them with a particular attention; and the gentleneſs of her diſpoſition, and ſeeming indifference to the religious points in diſpute, made all her promiſes of protection and indulgence paſs upon them for ſincere. Finding ſo great a part of the nation willing to fall in with her meaſures, the Queen ſet out for France, under pretence of viſiting her daughter, and took along with her thoſe noblemen who poſſeſſed the greateſt power and credit among their countrymen. Softened by the pleaſures of an elegant court, flattered by the civilities of the French King and the careſſes of the houſe of Guiſe, and influenced by the ſeaſonable diſtribution of a few favours, and the liberal promiſe of many more, they were brought to approve of all the Queen's pretenſions.

Courts the reformers.

Oct. 1550.

WHILE ſhe advanced by theſe ſlow but ſure ſteps, the Regent either did not foreſee the danger which threatened him, or neglected to provide

BOOK II. provide againſt it. The firſt diſcovery of the train which was laid, came from two of his own confidents, Carnegie of Kinnaird, and Panter Biſhop of Roſs, whom the Queen had gained over to her intereſt, and then employed as the moſt proper inſtruments for obtaining his conſent. The overture was made to him in the name of the French King, enforced by proper threatenings, in order to work upon his natural timidity, and ſweetened by every promiſe that could reconcile him to a propoſal ſo diſagreeable. On the one hand, the confirmation of his French title, together with a conſiderable penſion, the parliamentary acknowledgment of his right of ſucceſſion to the crown, and a public ratification of his conduct during his regency, were offered him. On the other hand, the diſpleaſure of the French King, the power and popularity of the Queen Dowager, the diſaffection of the nobles, with the danger of an after-reckoning, were repreſented in the ſtrongeſt colours.

It was not poſſible to agree to a propoſal ſo extraordinary and unexpected, without ſome previous ſtruggle; and, had the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's been preſent to fortify the irreſolute and paſſive ſpirit of the Regent, he, in all probability, would have rejected it with diſdain. Happily for the Queen, the ſagacity and ambition of that prelate could, at this time, be no obſtruction to her views. He was lying at the point of death, and in his abſence the influence of the Queen's agents on a flexible temper

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counterbalanced ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the human mind, and obtained his conſent to a voluntary ſurrender of the ſupreme power. BOOK II.

AFTER gaining a point of ſuch difficulty with ſo much eaſe, the Queen returned into Scotland, in full expectation of taking immediate poſſeſſion of her new dignity. But by this time the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's had recovered of that diſtemper, which the ignorance of the Scottiſh phyſicians had pronounced to be incurable. This he owed to the aſſiſtance of the famous Cardan, one of thoſe irregular adventurers in philoſophy, of whom Italy produced ſo many about this period. A bold genius led him to ſome uſeful diſcoveries, which merit the eſteem of a more diſcerning age; a wild imagination engaged him in thoſe chimerical ſciences, which drew the admiration of his contemporaries. As a pretender to aſtrology and magic, he was revered and conſulted by all Europe; as a proficient in natural philoſophy, he was but little known. The Archbiſhop, it is probable, conſidered him as a powerful magician, when he applied to him for relief; but it was his knowledge as a philoſopher, which enabled him to cure his diſeaſe[t]. Dec. 1551.

TOGETHER with his health, the Archbiſhop recovered the entire government of the Regent,

[t] Cardan himſelf was more deſirous of being conſidered as an aſtrologer than a philoſopher; in his book *De Genituris*, we find a calculation of the Archbiſhop's nativity, from which he pretends both to have predicted his diſeaſe, and to have effected his cure. He received from the Archbiſhop a reward of 1800 crowns! a great ſum in that age. *De vita ſua*, p. 32.

 and

and quickly perſuaded him to recal that diſhonourable promiſe, which he had been ſeduced by the artifices of the Queen to grant. However great her ſurpriſe and indignation were, at this freſh inſtance of his inconſtancy, ſhe was obliged to diſſemble, that ſhe might have leiſure to renew her intrigues with all parties; with the Proteſtants, whom ſhe favoured and courted more than ever; with the nobles, to whom ſhe rendered herſelf agreeable by various arts; and with the Regent himſelf, in order to gain whom, ſhe employed every argument. But, whatever impreſſions her emiſſaries might have made on the Regent, it was no eaſy matter to over-reach or to intimidate the Archbiſhop. Under his management, the negociations were ſpun out to a great length, and his brother maintained his ſtation with that addreſs and firmneſs, which its importance ſo well merited. The univerſal defection of the nobility, the growing power of the Proteſtants, who all adhered to the Queen Dowager, the reiterated ſolicitations of the French King, and, above all, the interpoſition of the young Queen, who was now entering the twelfth year of her age, and claimed a right of nominating whom ſhe pleaſed to be Regent[u], obliged him at laſt to reſign that high office, which he had held many years. He obtained, however, the ſame advantageous terms for himſelf, which had been formerly ſtipulated.

Prevails on the Regent to reſign his office.

She obtains the regency.

It was in the parliament which met on the tenth of April one thouſand five hundred and fifty-

[u] Leſley, de Reb. Geſt. Scot. ap. Jeb. 1. 187.

fifty-four, that the Earl of Arran executed this extraordinary reſignation; and at the ſame time Mary of Guiſe was raiſed to that dignity, which had been ſo long the object of her wiſhes. Thus, with their own approbation, a woman and a ſtranger was advanced to the ſupreme authority over a fierce and turbulent people, who ſeldom ſubmitted, without reluctance, to the legal and ancient government of their native monarchs.

Reformation continues to make great progreſs. July 6, 1553.

WHILE the Queen Dowager of Scotland contributed ſo much towards the progreſs of the Reformation by the protection which ſhe afforded it, from motives of ambition, the Engliſh Queen, by her indiſcreet zeal, filled the kingdom with perſons active in promoting the ſame cauſe. Mary aſcended the throne of England on the death of her brother Edward, and ſoon after married Philip II. of Spain. To the perſecuting ſpirit of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and the fierceneſs of that age, ſhe added the private reſentment of her own and of her mother's ſufferings, with which ſhe loaded the reformed religion; and the peeviſhneſs and ſeverity of her natural temper carried the acrimony of all theſe paſſions to the utmoſt extreme. The cruelty of her perſecution equalled the deeds of thoſe tyrants who have been the greateſt reproach to human nature. The bigotry of her clergy could ſcarce keep pace with the impetuoſity of her zeal. Even the unrelenting Philip was obliged, on ſome occaſions, to mitigate the rigour of her proceedings. Many among the moſt eminent reformers ſuffered for the doctrines which they had taught;

 others

BOOK II.

others fled from the ftorm. To the greater part of thefe, Switzerland and Germany opened a fecure afylum; and not a few, out of choice or neceffity, fled into Scotland. What they had feen and felt in England, did not abate the warmth and zeal of their indignation againft Popery. Their attacks were bolder and more fuccefsful than ever; and their doctrines made a rapid progrefs among all ranks of men.

A view of the political caufes which contributed towards that.

THESE doctrines, calculated to rectify the opinions, and to reform the manners, of mankind, had hitherto produced no other effects; but they foon began to operate with greater violence, and proved the occafion, not only of fubverting the eftablifhed religion, but of fhaking the throne and endangering the kingdom. The caufes which facilitated the introduction of thefe new opinions into Scotland, and which diffeminated them fo faft through the nation, merit, on that account, a particular and careful inquiry. The Reformation is one of the greateft events in the hiftory of mankind, and, in whatever point of light we view it, is inftructive and interefting.

THE revival of learning in the fifteenth and fixteenth centuries roufed the world from that lethargy in which it had been funk for many ages. The human mind felt its own ftrength, broke the fetters of authority by which it had been fo long reftrained, and, venturing to move in a larger fphere, pufhed its inquiries into every fubject, with great boldnefs and furprifing fuccefs.

No fooner did mankind recover the capacity of exercifing their reafon, than religion was one

of

of the firſt objects which drew their attention. Long before Luther publiſhed his famous Theſes, which ſhook the Papal throne, ſcience and philoſophy had laid open to many of the Italians, the impoſture and abſurdity of the eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition. That ſubtle and refined people, ſatisfied with enjoying thoſe diſcoveries in ſecret, were little diſpoſed to aſſume the dangerous character of Reformers, and concluded the knowledge of truth to be the prerogative of the wiſe, while vulgar minds muſt be overawed and governed by popular errors. But, animated with a more noble and diſintereſted zeal, the German theologian boldly erected the ſtandard of truth, and upheld it with an unconquerable intrepidity, which merits the admiration and gratitude of all ſucceeding ages.

THE occaſion of Luther's being firſt diſguſted with the tenets of the Romiſh church, and how, from a ſmall rupture, the quarrel widened into an irreparable breach, is known to every one who has been the leaſt converſant in hiſtory. From the heart of Germany his opinions ſpread, with aſtoniſhing rapidity, all over Europe; and, wherever they came, endangered or overturned the ancient, but ill-founded ſyſtem. The vigilance and addreſs of the court of Rome, co-operating with the power and bigotry of the Auſtrian family, ſuppreſſed theſe notions on their firſt appearance, in the ſouthern kingdoms of Europe. But the fierce ſpirit of the north, irritated by multiplied impoſitions, could neither be mollified by the ſame arts, nor ſubdued by the ſame force;

BOOK II. and encouraged by ſome Princes from piety, and by others out of avarice, it eaſily bore down the feeble oppoſition of an illiterate and immoral clergy.

THE ſuperſtition of Popery ſeems to have grown to the moſt extravagant height in thoſe countries which are ſituated towards the different extremities of Europe. The vigour of imagination, and ſenſibility of frame, peculiar to the inhabitants of ſouthern climates, rendered them ſuſceptible of the deepeſt impreſſions of ſuperſtitious terror and credulity. Ignorance and barbarity were no leſs favourable to the progreſs of the ſame ſpirit among the northern nations. They knew little, and were diſpoſed to believe every thing. The moſt glaring abſurdities did not ſhock their groſs underſtandings, and the moſt improbable fictions were received with implicit aſſent and admiration.

ACCORDINGLY, that form of Popery which prevailed in Scotland was of the moſt bigotted and illiberal kind. Thoſe doctrines which are moſt apt to ſhock the human underſtanding, and thoſe legends which fartheſt exceed belief, were propoſed to the people without any attempt to palliate or diſguiſe them; nor did they ever call in queſtion the reaſonableneſs of the one, or the truth of the other.

THE power and wealth of the church kept pace with the progreſs of ſuperſtition; for it is the nature of that ſpirit to obſerve no bounds in its reſpect and liberality towards thoſe whoſe character it eſteems ſacred. The Scottiſh Kings early

early demonſtrated how much they were under its influence, by their vaſt additions to the immunities and riches of the clergy. The profuſe piety of David I., who acquired on that account the name of Saint, transferred almoſt the whole crown lands, which were at that time of great extent, into the hands of eccleſiaſtics. The example of that virtuous Prince was imitated by his ſucceſſors. The ſpirit ſpread among all orders of men, who daily loaded the prieſthood with new poſſeſſions. The riches of the church all over Europe were exorbitant; but Scotland was one of thoſe countries wherein they had fartheſt exceeded the juſt proportion. The Scottiſh clergy paid one-half of every tax impoſed on land; and as there is no reaſon to think that in that age they would be loaded with any unequal ſhare of the burden, we may conclude that, by the time of the Reformation, little leſs than one-half of the national property had fallen into the hands of a ſociety, which is always acquiring, and can never loſe.

The nature, too, of a conſiderable part of their property extended the influence of the clergy. Many eſtates, throughout the kingdom, held of the church; church lands were let in leaſe at an eaſy rent, and were poſſeſſed by the younger ſons and deſcendants of the beſt families[x]. The connection between *ſuperior* and *vaſſal*, between landlord and tenant, created dependencies, and gave riſe to an union of great advantage to the

[x] Keith, 521. Not. (b).

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

church; and in eftimating the influence of the Popifh ecclefiaftics over the nation, thefe, as well as the real amount of their revenues, muft be attended to, and taken into the account.

THIS extraordinary fhare in the national property was accompanied with proportionable weight in the fupreme council of the kingdom. At a time when the number of the temporal peers was extremely fmall, and when the leffer barons and reprefentatives of boroughs feldom attended parliaments, the ecclefiaftics formed a confiderable body there. It appears from the ancient rolls of parliament, and from the manner of chufing the lords of articles, that the proceedings of that high court muft have been, in a great meafure, under their direction[y].

THE reverence due to their facred character, which was often carried incredibly far, contributed not a little towards the growth of their power. The dignity, the titles, and precedence of the Popifh clergy, are remarkable, both as caufes and effects of that dominion which they had acquired over the reft of mankind. They were regarded by the credulous laity as beings of a fuperior fpecies; they were neither fubject to the fame laws, nor tried by the fame judges[z]. Every

[y] Spotf. Hift. of the Church of Scotland, 449.

[z] How far this claim of the clergy to exemption from lay jurifdiction extended, appears from a remarkable tranfaction in the Parliament held in 1546. When that court was proceeding to the forfeiture of the murderers of Cardinal Beatoun, and were about to include a prieft, who was one of the affaffins, in the general fentence of condemnation, odious as the crime was to

Every guard that religion could ſupply, was placed around their power, their poſſeſſions, and their perſons; and endeavours were uſed, not without ſucceſs, to repreſent them all as equally ſacred.

The reputation for learning, which, however inconſiderable, was wholly engroſſed by the clergy, added to the reverence which they derived from religion. The principles of ſound philoſophy, and of a juſt taſte, were altogether unknown; in place of theſe were ſubſtituted ſtudies barbarous and uninſtructive; but as the eccleſiaſtics alone were converſant in them, this procured them eſteem; and a very ſlender portion of knowledge drew the admiration of rude ages, which knew little. War was the ſole profeſſion of the nobles, and hunting their chief amuſement; they divided their time between theſe: unacquainted with the arts, and unimproved by ſcience, they diſdained any employment foreign from military affairs, or which required rather penetration and addreſs, than bodily vigour. Wherever the former were neceſſary, the clergy were entruſted; becauſe they alone were properly qualified for the truſt. Almoſt all the high offices in civil government devolved, on this account, into their hands. The Lord Chancellor was the firſt ſubject in the

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to eccleſiaſtics, a delegate appeared in name of the clerical courts, and *repledged* or claimed exemption of him from the judgment of parliament, *as a ſpiritual man.* This claim was ſuſtained; and his name is not inſerted in the act of forfeiture. Epiſt. Reg. Scot. ii. 350. 361.

BOOK II. kingdom, both in dignity and in power. From the earlieſt ages of the monarchy, to the death of Cardinal Beatoun, fifty-four perſons had held that high office; and of theſe forty-three had been eccleſiaſtics[a]. The lords of ſeſſion were ſupreme judges in all matters of civil right; and, by its original conſtitution, the preſident and one half of the ſenators in this court were churchmen.

To all this we may add, that the clergy being ſeparated from the reſt of mankind by the law of celibacy, and undiſtracted by thoſe cares, and unincumbered with thoſe burdens, which occupy and oppreſs other men, the intereſt of their order became their only object, and they were at full leiſure to purſue it.

The nature of their functions gave them acceſs to all perſons, and at all ſeaſons. They could employ all the motives of fear and of hope, of terror and of conſolation, which operate moſt powerfully on the human mind. They haunted the weak and the credulous; they beſieged the beds of the ſick and of the dying; they ſuffered few to go out of the world without leaving marks of their liberality to the church, and taught them to compound with the Almighty for their ſins, by beſtowing riches upon thoſe who called themſelves his ſervants.

When their own induſtry, or the ſuperſtition of mankind, failed of producing this effect, the eccleſiaſtics had influence enough to call in the

[a] Crawf. Offic. of State.

aid

aid of law. When a perſon died *inteſtate*, the diſpoſal of his effects was veſted in the biſhop of the dioceſe, after paying his funeral charges and debts, and diſtributing among his kindred the ſums to which they were reſpectively entitled; it being preſumed that no Chriſtian would have choſen to leave the world without deſtining ſome part of his ſubſtance to pious uſes[b]. As men are apt to truſt to the continuance of life with a fond confidence, and childiſhly ſhun every thing that forces them to think of their mortality, many die without ſettling their affairs by will; and the right of adminiſtration in that event, acquired by the clergy, muſt have proved a conſiderable ſource both of wealth and of power to the church.

At the ſame time, no matrimonial or teſtamentary cauſe could be tried but in the ſpiritual courts, and by laws which the clergy themſelves had framed. The penalty, too, by which the deciſions of theſe courts were enforced, added to their authority. A ſentence of excommunication was no leſs formidable than a ſentence of outlawry. It was pronounced on many occaſions, and againſt various crimes: and, beſides excluding thoſe, upon whom it fell, from Chriſtian privileges, it deprived them of all their rights as men, or as citizens; and the aid of the ſecular power concurred with the ſuperſtition of mankind, in rendering the thunders of the church no leſs deſtructive than terrible.

[b] Eſſays on Brit. Antiq. 174. Annals of Scotland, by Sir David Dalrymple, vol. i. Append. No. ii.

To

To theſe general cauſes may be attributed the immenſe growth both of the wealth and power of the Popiſh church; and, without entering into any more minute detail, this may ſerve to diſcover the foundations on which a ſtructure ſo ſtupendous was erected.

But though the laity had contributed, by their own ſuperſtition and profuſeneſs, to raiſe the clergy from poverty and obſcurity to riches and eminence, they began, by degrees, to feel and to murmur at their encroachments. No wonder haughty and martial barons ſhould view the power and poſſeſſions of the church with envy; and regard the lazy and inactive character of churchmen with the utmoſt contempt; while, at the ſame time, the indecent and licentious lives of the clergy gave great and juſt offence to the people, and conſiderably abated the veneration which they were accuſtomed to yield to that order of men.

Immense wealth, extreme indolence, groſs ignorance, and, above all, the ſevere injunction of celibacy, had concurred to introduce this corruption of morals among many of the clergy, who, preſuming too much upon the ſubmiſſion of the people, were at no pains either to conceal or to diſguiſe their own vices. According to the accounts of the reformers, confirmed by ſeveral Popiſh writers, the moſt open and ſcandalous diſſoluteneſs of manners prevailed among the Scottiſh clergy [c]. Cardinal Beatoun, with

[c] Winzet. ap. Keith, Append. 202. 205. Leſley de Reb. Geſt. Scot. 232.

the ſame public pomp which is due to a legitimate child, celebrated the marriage of his natural daughter with the Earl of Crawford's ſon[d]; and, if we may believe Knox, he publicly continued to the end of his days a criminal correſpondence with her mother, who was a woman of rank. The other prelates ſeem not to have been more regular and exemplary than their primate[e].

Men of ſuch characters ought, in reaſon, to have been alarmed at the firſt clamours raiſed againſt their own morals, and the doctrines of the church, by the Proteſtant preachers; but the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, either out of pride or ignorance, neglected the proper methods for ſilencing them. Inſtead of reforming their lives, or diſguiſing their vices, they affected to deſpiſe the cenſures of the people. While the Reformers, by their mortifications and auſterities, endeavoured to reſemble the firſt propagators of Chriſtianity, the Popiſh clergy were compared to all

[d] The marriage articles, ſubſcribed with his own hand, in which he calls her *my daughter*, are ſtill extant. Keith, p. 42.

[e] A remarkable proof of the diſſolute manners of the clergy is found in the public records. A greater number of letters of *legitimation* was granted during the firſt thirty years after the Reformation, than during the whole period that has elapſed ſince that time. Theſe were obtained by the ſons of the Popiſh clergy. The eccleſiaſtics, who were allowed to retain their benefices, alienated them to their children; who, when they acquired wealth, were deſirous that the ſtain of illegitimacy might no longer remain upon their families. In *Keith*'s *Catalogue of the Scottiſh Biſhops*, we find ſeveral inſtances of ſuch alienations of church lands, by the Popiſh incumbents to their natural children.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWA

BOOK II. those persons who are most infamous in history for the enormity and scandal of their crimes.

On the other hand, instead of mitigating the rigour, or colouring over the absurdity of the established doctrines; instead of attempting to found them upon scripture, or to reconcile them to reason; they left them without any other support or recommendation, than the authority of the church, and the decrees of councils. The fables concerning purgatory, the virtues of pilgrimage, and the merits of the saints, were the topics on which they insisted in their discourses to the people; and the duty of preaching being left wholly to monks of the lowest and most illiterate orders, their compositions were still more wretched and contemptible, than the subjects on which they insisted. While the Reformers were attended by crowded and admiring audiences, the Popish preachers were either universally deserted, or listened to with scorn.

The only device which they employed in order to recover their declining reputation, or to confirm the wavering faith of the people, was equally imprudent and unsuccessful. As many doctrines of their church had derived their credit at first from the authority of false miracles, they now endeavoured to call in these to their aid[f]. But such lying wonders, as were beheld with unsuspicious admiration, or heard with implicit faith, in times of darkness and of ignorance,

[f] Spotswood, 69.

met

met with a very different reception in a more enlightened period. The vigilance of the Reformers detected theſe impoſtures, and expoſed not only them, but the cauſe which needed the aid of ſuch artifices, to ridicule.

As the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics became more and more the objects of hatred and of contempt, the diſcourſes of the Reformers were liſtened to as ſo many calls to liberty; and, beſides the pious indignation which they excited againſt thoſe corrupt doctrines which had perverted the nature of true Chriſtianity; beſides the zeal which they inſpired for the knowledge of truth and the purity of religion; they gave riſe alſo, among the Scottiſh nobles, to other views and paſſions. They hoped to ſhake off the yoke of eccleſiaſtical dominion, which they had long felt to be oppreſſive, and which they now diſcovered to be unchriſtian. They expected to recover poſſeſſion of the church revenues, which they were now taught to conſider as alienations made by their anceſtors, with a profuſion no leſs undiſcerning than unbounded. They flattered themſelves, that a check would be given to the pride and luxury of the clergy, who would be obliged, henceforward, to confine themſelves within the ſphere peculiar to their ſacred character. An averſion from the eſtabliſhed church, which flowed from ſo many concurring cauſes, which was raiſed by conſiderations of religion, heightened by motives of policy, and inſtigated by proſpects of private advantage, ſpread faſt

BOOK II.

through the nation, and excited a ſpirit, that burſt out, at laſt, with irreſiſtible violence.

RELIGIOUS conſiderations alone were ſufficient to have rouſed this ſpirit. The points in controverſy with the church of Rome were of ſo much importance to the happineſs of mankind, and ſo eſſential to Chriſtianity, that they merited all the zeal with which the Reformers contended in order to eſtabliſh them. But the Reformation having been repreſented as the effect of ſome wild and enthuſiaſtic frenzy in the human mind, this attempt to account for the eagerneſs and zeal with which our anceſtors embraced and propagated the Proteſtant doctrines, by taking a view of the political motives alone which influenced them, and by ſhewing how naturally theſe prompted them to act with ſo much ardour, will not, perhaps, be deemed an unneceſſary digreſſion. We now return to the courſe of the hiſtory.

1554. The Queen Regent begins her adminiſtration with ſome unpopular meaſures.

THE Queen's elevation to the office of Regent ſeems to have tranſported her, at firſt, beyond the known prudence and moderation of her character. She began her adminiſtration, by conferring upon foreigners ſeveral offices of truſt and of dignity; a ſtep which, both from the inability of ſtrangers to diſcharge theſe offices with propriety, and from the envy which their preferment excites among the natives, is never attended with good conſequences. Vilmort was made comptroller, and entruſted with the management of the public revenues; Bonot was appointed

appointed Governor of Orkney; and Rubay honoured with the cuftody of the great feal, and the title of Vice-chancellor[g]. It was with the higheft indignation, that the Scots beheld offices of the greateft eminence and authority dealt out among ftrangers[h]. By thefe promotions they conceived the Queen to have offered an infult both to their underftandings and to their courage; to the former, by fuppofing them unfit for thofe ftations which their anceftors had filled with fo much dignity; to the latter, by imagining that they were tame enough not to complain of an affront, which, in no former age, would have been tolerated with impunity.

BOOK II. 1554.

WHILE their minds were in this difpofition, an incident happened which inflamed their averfion from French councils to the higheft degree. Ever fince the famous conteft between the houfes of Valois and Plantagenet, the French had been accuftomed to embarrafs the Englifh, and to divide their ftrength by the fudden and formidable incurfions of their allies, the Scots. But, as thefe inroads were feldom attended with any real advantage to Scotland, and expofed it to the dangerous refentment of a powerful neighbour, the Scots began to grow lefs tractable than formerly, and fcrupled any longer to ferve an ambitious ally at the price of their own quiet and fecurity. The change, too, which was

[g] Lefley de Reb. Geft. Scot. 189.

[h] The refentment of the nation againft the French rofe to fuch an height, that an act of parliament was paffed on purpofe to reftrain or moderate it. Parl. 6. Q. Mary, c. 60.

BOOK II. 1554. daily introducing in the art of war, rendered the aſſiſtance of the Scottiſh forces of leſs importance to the French Monarch. For theſe reaſons, Henry having reſolved upon a war with with Philip II. and foreſeeing that the Queen of England would take part in her huſband's quarrel, was extremely ſolicitous to ſecure in Scotland the aſſiſtance of ſome troops, which would be more at his command than an undiſciplined army, led by chieftains who were almoſt independent. In proſecution of this deſign, but under pretence of relieving the nobles from the expence and danger of defending the borders, the Queen Regent propoſed, in parlia-
1555. ment, to regiſter the value of lands throughout the kingdom, to impoſe on them a ſmall tax, and to apply that revenue towards maintaining a body of regular troops in conſtant pay. A fixed tax upon land, which the growing expence of government hath introduced into almoſt every part of Europe, was unknown at that time, and ſeemed altogether inconſiſtent with the genius of feudal policy. Nothing could be more ſhocking to a generous and brave nobility, than the entruſting to mercenary hands the defence of thoſe territories which had been acquired, or preſerved, by the blood of their anceſtors. They received this propoſal with the utmoſt diſſatiſfaction. About three hundred of the leſſer barons repaired in a body to the Queen Regent, and repreſented their ſenſe of the intended innovation, with that manly and determined boldneſs which is natural to a free people in a mar-
-tial

tial age. Alarmed at a remonſtrance delivered in ſo firm a tone, and ſupported by ſuch formidable numbers, the Queen prudently abandoned a ſcheme, which ſhe found to be univerſally odious. As the Queen herſelf was known perfectly to underſtand the circumſtances and temper of the nation, this meaſure was imputed wholly to the ſuggeſtions of her foreign counſellors; and the Scots were ready to proceed to the moſt violent extremities againſt them.

Attempts to engage the kingdom in a war with England.

THE French, inſtead of extinguiſhing, added fuel to the flame. They had now commenced hoſtilities againſt Spain, and Philip had prevailed on the Queen of England to reinforce his army with a conſiderable body of her troops. In order to deprive him of this aid, Henry had recourſe, as he projected, to the Scots; and attempted to excite them to invade England. But, as Scotland had nothing to dread from a Princeſs of Mary's character, who, far from any ambitious ſcheme of diſturbing her neighbours, was wholly occupied in endeavouring to reclaim her heretical ſubjects; the nobles, who were aſſembled by the Queen Regent at Newbattle, liſtened to the ſolicitations of the French Monarch with extreme coldneſs, and prudently declined engaging the kingdom in an enterpriſe ſo dangerous and unneceſſary. What ſhe could not obtain by perſuaſion, the Queen Regent brought about by a ſtratagem. Notwithſtanding the peace which ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, ſhe commanded her French ſoldiers to rebuild a ſmall fort near Berwick, which was

 appointed,

BOOK II. 1555. appointed, by the laft treaty, to be rafed. The garrifon of Berwick fallied out; interrupted the work; and ravaged the adjacent country. This infult roufed the fiery fpirit of the Scots, and their promptnefs to revenge the leaft appearance of national injury, diffipated, in a moment, the wife and pacific refolutions which they had fo lately formed. War was determined, and orders inftantly given for raifing a numerous army. But before their forces could affemble, the ardour of their indignation had time to cool, and the Englifh having difcovered no intention to pufh the war with vigour, the nobles refumed their pacific fyftem, and refolved to ftand altogether
1556. upon the defenfive. They marched to the banks of the Tweed, they prevented the incurfions of the enemy; and having done what they thought fufficient for the fafety and honour of their country, the Queen could not induce them, either by her entreaties or her artifices, to advance another ftep.

While the Scots perfifted in their inactivity, D'Oyfel, the commander of the French troops, who poffeffed entirely the confidence of the Queen Regent, endeavoured, with her connivance, to engage the two nations in hoftilities. Contrary to the orders of the Scottifh general, he marched over the Tweed with his own foldiers, and invefted Werk Caftle, a garrifon of the Englifh. The Scots, inftead of feconding his attempt, were enraged at his prefumption. The Queen's partiality towards France had long been fufpected; but it was now vifible that fhe

wantonly ſacrificed the peace and ſafety of Scotland to the intereſt of that ambitious and aſſuming ally. Under the feudal governments, it was in camps that ſubjects were accuſtomed to addreſs the boldeſt remonſtrances to their ſovereigns. While arms were in their hands, they felt their own ſtrength; and at that time all their repreſentations of grievances carried the authority of commands. On this occaſion, the reſentment of the nobles broke out with ſuch violence, that the Queen, perceiving all attempts to engage them in action to be vain, abruptly diſmiſſed her army, and retired with the utmoſt ſhame and diſguſt; having diſcovered the impotence of her own authority, without effecting any thing which could be of advantage to France[i].

It is obſervable, that this firſt inſtance of contempt for the Regent's authority can, in no degree, be imputed to the influence of the new opinions in religion. As the Queen's pretenſions to the Regency had been principally ſupported by thoſe who favoured the Reformation, and as ſhe ſtill needed them for a counterpoiſe to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and the partiſans of the houſe of Hamilton; ſhe continued to treat them with great reſpect, and admitted them to no inconſiderable ſhare in her favour and confidence. Kirkaldy of Grange, and the other ſurviving conſpirators againſt Cardinal Beatoun, were, about this time, recalled by her from

[i] Strype's Memor. iii. Append. 274. Leſley, 196.

 baniſh-

BOOK II. 1556.

banifhment; and, through her connivance, the Proteftant preachers enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, which was of great advantage to their caufe. Soothed by thefe inftances of the Queen's moderation and humanity, the Proteftants left to others the office of remonftrating; and the leaders of the oppofite factions fet them the firft example of difputing the will of their fovereign.

The Queen's marriage with the Dauphin.

As the Queen Regent felt how limited and precarious her authority was, while it depended on the poife of thefe contrary factions, fhe endeavoured to eftablifh it on a broader and more fecure foundation, by haftening the conclufion of her daughter's marriage with the Dauphin. Amiable as the Queen of Scots then was, in the bloom of youth, and confiderable as the territories were, which fhe would have added to the French monarchy; reafons were not wanting to diffuade Henry from completing his firft plan of marrying her to his fon. The Conftable Montmorency had employed all his intereft to defeat an alliance which reflected fo much luftre on the Princes of Lorrain. He had reprefented the impoffibility of maintaining order and tranquillity among a turbulent people, during the abfence of their Sovereign; and for that reafon had advifed Henry to beftow the young Queen upon one of the Princes of the blood, who, by refiding in Scotland, might preferve that kingdom an ufeful ally to France, which, by a nearer union to the crown, would become a mutinous and ungovernable province[k].

[k] Melv. Mem. 15.

But

But at this time the Conſtable was a priſoner in the hands of the Spaniards; the Princes of Lorrain were at the height of their power; and their influence, ſeconded by the charms of the young Queen, triumphed over the prudent, but envious remonſtrances of their rival. BOOK II. 1556.

THE French King accordingly applied to the Parliament of Scotland, which appointed eight of its members[1] to repreſent the whole body of the nation, at the marriage of the Queen. Among the perſons on whom the public choice conferred this honourable character, were ſome of the moſt avowed and zealous advocates for the Reformation; by which may be eſtimated the degree of reſpect and popularity which that party had now attained in the kingdom. The inſtructions of the parliament to thoſe commiſſioners ſtill remain[m], and do honour to the wiſdom and integrity of that aſſembly. At the ſame time that they manifeſted, with reſpect to the articles of marriage, a laudable concern for the dignity and intereſt of their ſovereign, they employed every precaution which prudence could dictate, for preſerving the liberty and and independence of the nation, and for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown in the houſe of Hamilton. Dec. 14, 1557.

WITH regard to each of theſe, the Scots obtained whatever ſatisfaction their fear or jealouſy Artifices of the French in the marriage treaty.

[1] Viz. The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the Biſhop of Roſs, the Biſhop of Orkney, the Earls of Rothes and Caſſils, Lord Fleming, Lord Seton, the Prior of St. Andrew's, and John Erſkine of Dun.

[m] Keith, Append. 13.

 could

BOOK II. 1557.

could demand. The young Queen, the Dauphin, and the King of France, ratified every article with the moſt ſolemn oaths, and confirmed them by deeds in form under their hands and ſeals. But on the part of France, all this was one continued ſcene of ſtudied and elaborate deceit. Previous to theſe public tranſactions with the Scottiſh deputies, Mary had been perſuaded to ſubſcribe privately three deeds, equally unjuſt and invalid; by which, failing the heirs of her own body, ſhe conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with whatever inheritance or ſucceſſion might accrue to it, in free gift upon the crown of France, declaring all promiſes to the contrary, which the neceſſity of her affairs, and the ſolicitations of her ſubjects, had extorted, or might extort from her, to be void and of no obligation[n]. As it gives us a proper idea of the character of the French court under Henry II. we may obſerve that the King himſelf, the keeper of the great ſeals, the Duke of Guiſe, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, were the perſons engaged in conducting this perfidious and diſhonourable project. The Queen of Scots was the only innocent actor in that ſcene of iniquity. Her youth, her inexperience, her education in a foreign country, and her deference to the will of her uncles, muſt go far towards vindicating her, in the judgment of every impartial perſon, from any imputation of blame on that account.

This grant, by which Mary beſtowed the inheritance of her kingdom upon ſtrangers, was

[n] Corps Diplomat. tom. v. 21. Keith, 73.

concealed

concealed with the utmoſt care from her ſubjects. They ſeem, however, not to have been unacquainted with the intention of the French to overturn the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in favour of the Duke of Chatelherault. The zeal with which the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's oppoſed all the meaſures of the Queen Regent, evidently proceeded from the fears and ſuſpicions of that prudent prelate on this head [o]. 1557.

THE marriage, however, was celebrated with great pomp; and the French, who had hitherto affected to draw a veil over their deſigns upon Scotland, began now to unfold their intentions without any diſguiſe. In the treaty of marriage, the deputies had agreed that the Dauphin ſhould aſſume the name of King of Scotland. This they conſidered only as an honorary title; but the French laboured to annex to it ſome ſolid privileges and power. They inſiſted that the Dauphin's title ſhould be publicly recogniſed; that the *Crown Matrimonial* ſhould be conferred upon him; and that all the rights pertaining to the huſband of a Queen ſhould be veſted in his perſon. By the laws of Scotland, a perſon who married an heireſs, kept poſſeſſion of her eſtate during his own life, if he happened to ſurvive her and the children born of the marriage [p]. This was called the *courteſy of Scotland*. The April 14, 1558.

[o] About this time the French ſeem to have had ſome deſign of reviving the Earl of Lennox's pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, in order to intimidate and alarm the Duke of Chatelherault. Haynes, 215. 219. Forbe's Collect. vol. 1. 189.

[p] Reg. Mag. lib. ii. 58.

French

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

BOOK II. 1558. French aimed at applying this rule, which takes place in private inheritances, to the succession of the kingdom; and that seems to be implied in their demand of the *Crown Matrimonial*, a phrase peculiar to the Scottish historians, and which they have neglected to explain[q]. As the French had reason to expect difficulties in carrying through this measure, they began with sounding the deputies who were then at Paris. The English, in the marriage-articles between their Queen and Philip of Spain, had set an example to the age, of that prudent jealousy and reserve with which a foreigner should be admitted so near the throne. Full of the same ideas, the Scottish deputies had, in their oath of allegiance to the Dauphin, expressed themselves with remarkable caution[r]. Their answer was in the same spirit, respectful, but firm; and discovered a fixed resolution of consenting to nothing that

[q] As far as I can judge, the husband of the Queen, by the grant of the *Crown Matrimonial*, acquired a right to assume the title of King, to have his name stamped upon the current coin, and to sign all public instruments together with the Queen. In consequence of this, the subjects took an oath of fidelity to him. Keith, Append. 20. His authority became, in some measure, co-ordinate with that of the Queen; and without his concurrence, manifested by signing his name, no public deed seems to have been considered as valid. By the oath of fidelity of the Scottish commissioners to the Dauphin, it is evident that, in their opinion, the rights belonging to the *Crown Matrimonial* subsisted only during the continuance of the marriage. Keith, Append. 20. But the conspirators against Rizio bound themselves to procure a grant of the *Crown Matrimonial* to Darnley, during all the days of his life. Keith, Append. 120. Good. i. 227.

[r] Keith, Append. 20.

tended

tended to introduce any alteration in the order of ſucceſſion to the crown.

Four of the deputies[s] happening to die before they returned into Scotland, this accident was univerſally imputed to the effects of poiſon, which was ſuppoſed to have been given them by the emiſſaries of the Houſe of Guiſe. The hiſtorians of all nations diſcover an amazing credulity with reſpect to rumours of this kind, which are ſo well calculated to pleaſe the malignity of ſome men, and to gratify the love of the marvellous which is natural to all, that in every age they have been ſwallowed without examination, and believed contrary to reaſon. No wonder the Scots ſhould eaſily give credit to a ſuſpicion, which received ſuch ſtrong colours of probability, both from their own reſentment, and from the known character of the Princes of Lorrain, ſo little ſcrupulous about the juſtice of the ends which they purſued, or of the means which they employed. For the honour of human nature, however, it muſt be obſerved, that as we can diſcover no motive which could induce any man to perpetrate ſuch a crime, ſo there appears no evidence to prove that it was committed. But the Scots of that age, influenced by national animoſities and prejudices, were incapable of examining the circumſtances of the caſe with calmneſs, or of judging concerning them with candour. All parties agreed in believing the French to have been guilty of this deteſtable

[s] The Biſhop of Orkney, the Earl of Rothes, the Earl of Caſſils, and Lord Fleming.

action;

BOOK II. 1558.

action; and it is obvious how much this tended to increafe the averfion for them, which was growing among all ranks of men.

The Regent prevails on the Parliament to grant it. Nov. 29.

NOTWITHSTANDING the cold reception which their propofal concerning the *Crown Matrimonial* met with from the Scottifh deputies, the French ventured to move it in parliament. The partifans of the houfe of Hamilton, fufpicious of their defigns upon the fucceffion, oppofed it with great zeal. But a party, which the feeble and unfteady conduct of their leader had brought under much difreputation, was little able to withftand the influence of France, and the addrefs of the Queen Regent, feconded, on this occafion, by all the numerous adherents of the Reformation. Befides, that artful Princefs dreffed out the French demands in a lefs offenfive garb, and threw in fo many limitations as feemed to render them of fmall confequence. Thefe either deceived the Scots, or removed their fcruples; and in compliance to the Queen, they paffed an act, conferring the *Crown Matrimonial* on the Dauphin; and with the fondeft credulity, trufted to the frail fecurity of words and ftatutes, againft the dangerous encroachments of power[t].

[t] The act of parliament is worded with the utmoft care, with a view to guard againft any breach of the order of fucceffion. But the Duke, not relying on this alone, entered a folemn proteftation to fecure his own right. Keith, 76. It is plain that he fufpected the French of having fome intention to fet afide his right of fucceffion: and indeed, if they had no defign of that kind, the eagernefs with which they urged their demand was childifh.

BOOK II. 1558. Continues to court the Protestants.

The concurrence of the Proteſtants with the Queen Regent, in promoting a meaſure ſo acceptable to France, while the Popiſh clergy, under the influence of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, oppoſed it with ſo much violence[u], is one of thoſe ſingular circumſtances in the conduct of parties, for which this period is ſo remarkable. It may be aſcribed, in ſome degree, to the dexterous management of the Queen, but chiefly to the moderation of thoſe who favoured the Reformation. The Proteſtants were by this time almoſt equal to the Catholics, both in power and in number; and, conſcious of their own ſtrength, they ſubmitted with impatience to that tyrannical authority with which the ancient laws armed the eccleſiaſtics againſt them. They longed to be exempted from this oppreſſive juriſdiction, and publicly to enjoy the liberty of profeſſing thoſe opinions, and of exerciſing that worſhip, which ſo great a part of the nation deemed to be founded in truth, and to be acceptable to the Deity. This indulgence, to which the whole weight of prieſtly authority was oppoſed, there were only two ways of obtaining. Either violence muſt extort it from the reluctant hand of their ſovereign, or by prudent compliances they might expect it from her favour or her gratitude. The former is an expedient for the redreſs of grievances, to which no nation has recourſe ſuddenly; and ſubjects ſeldom venture

[u] Melv. 47.

upon

BOOK II. 1558. upon resistance, which is their last remedy, but in cases of extreme necessity. On this occasion the reformers wisely held the opposite course, and by their zeal in forwarding the Queen's designs, they hoped to merit her protection. This disposition the Queen encouraged to the utmost, and amused them so artfully with many promises, and some concessions, that, by their assistance, she surmounted in parliament the force of a national and laudable jealousy, which would otherwise have swayed with the greater number.

ANOTHER circumstance contributed somewhat to acquire the Regent such considerable influence in this parliament. In Scotland, all the bishoprics, and those abbeys which conferred a title to a seat in parliament, were in the gift of the crown[x]. From the time of her accession to the regency, the Queen had kept in her own hands almost all those which became vacant, except such as were, to the great disgust of the nation, bestowed upon foreigners. Among these, her brother the Cardinal of Lorrain had obtained the abbeys of Kelso and Melross, two of the most wealthy foundations in the kingdom[y]. By this conduct, she thinned the ecclesiastical bench[z], which was entirely under the influence of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and which, by its numbers and authority,

[x] See Book I. [y] Lesly, 202.

[z] It appears from the rolls of this parliament, which Lesly calls a very full one, that only seven bishops and sixteen abbots were present.

ufually had great weight in the houfe, fo as to render any oppofition it could give at that time of little confequence.

The Earl of Argyll, and James Stewart Prior of St. Andrew's, one the moft powerful, and the other the moft popular leader of the Proteftants, were appointed to carry the crown and other enfigns of royalty to the Dauphin. But from this they were diverted by the part they were called to act in a more interefting fcene, which now begins to open.

Elizabeth fucceeds to the crown of England.

Before we turn towards this, it is neceffary to obferve, that on the feventeenth of November, one thoufand five hundred and fifty-eight, Mary of England finifhed her fhort and inglorious reign. Her fifter Elizabeth took poffeffion of the throne without oppofition; and the Proteftant religion was, once more, eftablifhed by law in England. The acceffion of a Queen, who, under very difficult circumftances, had given ftrong indications of thofe eminent qualities, which, in the fequel, rendered her reign fo illuftrious, attracted the eyes of all Europe. Among the Scots, both parties obferved her firft motions with the utmoft folicitude, as they eafily forefaw that fhe would not remain long an indifferent fpectator of their tranfactions.

Under many difcouragements and much oppreffion, the Reformation advanced towards a full eftablifhment in Scotland. All the low country, the moft populous, and at that time the moft warlike part of the kingdom, was deeply

BOOK II. 1558.

deeply tinctured with the Proteſtant opinions; and if the ſame impreſſions were not made in the more diſtant counties, it was owing to no want of the ſame diſpoſitions among the people, but to the ſcarcity of preachers, whoſe moſt indefatigable zeal could not ſatisfy the avidity of thoſe who deſired their inſtructions. Among a people bred to arms, and as prompt as the Scots to act with violence; and in an age when religious paſſions had taken ſuch ſtrong poſſeſſion of the human mind, and moved and agitated it with ſo much violence, the peaceable and regular demeanour of ſo numerous a party is aſtoniſhing. From the death of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, the firſt who ſuffered in Scotland for the Proteſtant religion, thirty years had elapſed, and, during ſo long a period, no violation of public order or tranquillity had proceeded from that ſect[a]; and though rouſed and irritated by the moſt cruel exceſſes of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, they did, in no inſtance, tranſgreſs thoſe bounds of duty which the law preſcribes to ſubjects. Beſides the prudence of their own leaders, and the protection which the Queen Regent, from political motives, afforded them, the moderation of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's encouraged this pacific diſpoſition. That prelate, whoſe private life cotemporary writers tax with great irregularities[b], governed the church, for ſome

[a] The murder of Cardinal Beatoun was occaſioned by private revenge; and being contrived and executed by ſixteen perſons only cannot with juſtice be imputed to the whole Proteſtant party.

[b] Knox, Buchanan, Keith, 208.

years,

years, with a temper and prudence of which there are few examples in that age. But ſome time before the meeting of the laſt parliament, the Archbiſhop departed from thoſe humane maxims by which he had hitherto regulated his conduct; and, whether in ſpite to the Queen, who had entered into ſo cloſe an union with the Proteſtants, or in compliance with the importunities of his clergy, he let looſe all the rage of perſecution againſt the reformed; ſentenced to the flames an aged prieſt, who had been convicted of embracing the Proteſtant opinions; and ſummoned ſeveral others, ſuſpected of the ſame crime, to appear before a ſynod of the clergy, which was ſoon to convene at Edinburgh.

Nothing could equal the horror of the Proteſtants at this unexpected and barbarous execution, but the zeal with which they eſpouſed the defence of a cauſe that now ſeemed devoted to deſtruction. They had immediate recourſe to the Queen Regent; and as her ſucceſs in the parliament, which was then about to meet, depended on their concurrence, ſhe not only ſheltered them from the impending ſtorm, but permitted them the exerciſe of their religion with more freedom than they had hitherto enjoyed. Unſatisfied with this precarious tenure by which they held their religious liberty, the Proteſtants laboured to render their poſſeſſion of it more ſecure and independent. With this view they determined to petition the Parliament for ſome legal protection againſt the exorbitant and oppreſſive juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts,

 which,

BOOK II. 1558. which, by their arbitrary method of proceeding, founded in the canon law, were led to ſentences the moſt ſhocking to humanity, by maxims the moſt repugnant to juſtice. But the Queen, who dreaded the effect of a debate on this delicate ſubject, which could not fail of exciting high and dangerous paſſions, prevailed on the leaders of the party, by new and more ſolemn promiſes of her protection, to deſiſt from any application to parliament, where their numbers and influence would, in all probability, have procured them, if not entire redreſs, at leaſt ſome mitigation, of their grievances.

They applied to another aſſembly, to a convocation of the Popiſh clergy, but with the ſame ill ſucceſs which hath always attended every propoſal for Reformation, addreſſed to that order of men. To abandon uſurped power, to renounce lucrative error, are ſacrifices, which the virtue of individuals has, on ſome occaſions, offered to truth; but from any ſociety of men no ſuch effort can be expected. The corruptions of a ſociety, recommended by common utility, and juſtified by univerſal practice, are viewed by its members without ſhame or horror; and reformation never proceeds from themſelves, but is always forced upon them by ſome foreign hand. Suitable to this unfeeling and inflexible ſpirit was the behaviour of the convocation in the preſent conjuncture. All the demands of the Proteſtants were rejected with contempt; and the Popiſh clergy, far from endeavouring, by any prudent conceſſions, to

1558.

ſooth and to reconcile ſuch a numerous body, aſſerted the doctrines of their church, concerning ſome of the moſt exceptionable articles, with an ill-timed rigour, which gave new offence[c].

1559.

DURING the ſitting of the convocation, the Proteſtants firſt began to ſuſpect ſome change in the Regent's diſpoſition towards them. Though joined with them for many years by intereſt, and united, as they conceived, by the ſtrongeſt ties of affection and of gratitude, ſhe diſcovered, on this occaſion, evident ſymptoms, not only of coldneſs, but of a growing diſguſt and averſion. In order to account for this, our hiſtorians do little more than produce the trite obſervations concerning the influence of proſperity to alter the character and to corrupt the heart. The Queen, ſay they, having reached the utmoſt point to which her ambition aſpired, no longer preſerved her accuſtomed moderation, but, with an inſolence uſual to the fortunate, looked down upon thoſe by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe had been enabled to riſe ſo high. But it is neither in the depravity of the human heart, nor in the ingratitude of the Queen's diſpoſition, that we muſt ſearch for the motives of her preſent conduct. Theſe were derived from another, and a more remote ſource, which, in order to clear the ſubſequent tranſactions, we ſhall endeavour to open with ſome care.

Ambitious views of the Princes of Lorrain.

THE ambition of the Princes of Lorrain had been no leſs ſucceſsful than daring; but all their

[c] Keith, 81.

BOOK II. 1559.

schemes were distinguished by being vast and unbounded. Though strangers at the court of France, their eminent qualities had raised them, in a short time, to an height of power superior to that of all other subjects, and had placed them on a level even with the Princes of the blood themselves. The church, the army, the revenue, were under their direction. Nothing but the royal dignity remained unattained, and they were elevated to a near alliance with it, by the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Dauphin. In order to gratify their own vanity, and to render their niece more worthy the heir of France, they set on foot her claim to the crown of England, which was founded on pretences not unplausible.

The tragical amours and marriages of Henry VIII., are known to all the world. Moved by the caprices of his love, or of his resentment, that impatient and arbitrary monarch had divorced or beheaded four of the six Queens whom he married. In order to gratify him, both his daughters had been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; and yet, with that fantastic inconsistence which distinguishes his character, he, in his last will, whereby he was empowered to settle the order of succession, called both of them to the throne upon the death of their brother Edward; and, at the same time, passing by the posterity of his eldest sister Margaret Queen of Scotland, he appointed the line of succession to continue in the descendants of his younger sister, the Duchess of Suffolk.

In

BOOK II. 1559.

In consequence of this destination, the validity whereof was admitted by the English, but never recognized by foreigners, Mary had reigned in England without the least complaint of neighbouring Princes. But the same causes which facilitated her accession to the throne, were obstacles to the elevation of her sister Elizabeth, and rendered her possession of it precarious and insecure. Rome trembled for the Catholic faith, under a Protestant Queen of such eminent abilities. The same superstitious fears alarmed the court of Spain. France beheld with concern a throne, to which the Queen of Scots could form so many pretentions, occupied by a rival, whose birth, in the opinion of all good Catholics, excluded her from any legal right of succession. The impotent hatred of the Roman Pontiff, or the slow councils of Philip II., would have produced no sudden or formidable effect. The ardent and impetuous ambition of the Princes of Lorrain, who at that time governed the court of France, was more decisive, and more to be dreaded. Instigated by them, Henry, soon after the death of Mary, persuaded his daughter-in-law, and her husband, to assume the title of King and Queen of England. They affected to publish this to all Europe. They used that style and appellation in public papers, some of which still remain[d]. The arms of England were engraved on their coin and plate, and borne by them on all occasions. No preparations, however, were made to support this

They persuade Mary to assume the title of Queen of England.

[d] Anders. Diplom. Scot. N°s 68 and 164.

impo-

BOOK II. 1559.

impolitic and premature claim. Elizabeth was already ſeated on her throne; ſhe poſſeſſed all the intrepidity of ſpirit, and all the arts of policy which were neceſſary for maintaining that ſtation. England was growing into reputation for naval power. The marine of France had been utterly neglected; and Scotland remained the only avenue by which the territories of Elizabeth could be approached. It was on that

Reſolve to invade England.

ſide, therefore, that the Princes of Lorrain determined to make their attack[e]; and, by uſing the name and pretenſions of the Scottiſh Queen, they hoped to rouſe the Engliſh Catholics, formidable at that time by their zeal and numbers, and exaſperated to the utmoſt againſt Elizabeth, on account of the change which ſhe had made in the national religion.

In order to this, neceſſary to check the Reformation in Scotland.

It was in vain to expect the aſſiſtance of the Scottiſh Proteſtants to dethrone a Queen, whom all Europe began to conſider the moſt powerful guardian and defender of the reformed faith. To break the power and reputation of that party in Scotland became, for this reaſon, a neceſſary ſtep towards the invaſion of England. With this the Princes of Lorrain reſolved to open their ſcheme. And as perſecution was the only method for ſuppreſſing religious opinions known in that age, or dictated by the deſpotic and ſanguinary ſpirit of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, this, in its utmoſt violence, they determined to employ. The Earl of Argyll, the Prior of St. An-

[e] Forbes's Collect. i. 253. 269. 279. 404.

drew's,

1559.

drew's, and other leaders of the party, were marked out by them for immediate deſtruction[f]; and they hoped, by puniſhing them, to intimidate their followers. Inſtructions for this purpoſe were ſent from France to the Queen Regent. That humane and ſagacious Princeſs condemned a meaſure which was equally violent and impolitic. By long reſidence in Scotland, ſhe had become acquainted with the eager and impatient temper of the nation; ſhe well knew the power, the number, and popularity of the Proteſtant leaders; and had been a witneſs to the intrepid and unconquerable reſolution which religious fervour could inſpire. What then could be gained by rouſing this dangerous ſpirit, which hitherto all the arts of policy had ſcarcely been able to reſtrain? If it once broke looſe, the authority of a Regent would be little capable to ſubdue, or even to moderate, its rage. If, in order to quell it, foreign forces were called in, this would give the alarm to the whole nation, irritated already at the exceſſive power which the French poſſeſſed in the kingdom, and ſuſpicious of all their deſigns. Amidſt the ſhock which this might occaſion, far from hoping to exterminate the Proteſtant doctrine, it would be well if the whole fabric of the eſtabliſhed church were not ſhaken, and perhaps overturned from the foundation. Theſe prudent remonſtrances made no impreſſion on her brothers; precipitant, but inflexible in all their reſolutions, they in-

[f] Ibid. i. 152.

BOOK II. 1559.

fifted on the full and rigorous execution of their plan. Mary, paffionately devoted to the intereft of France, and ready, on all occafions, to facrifice her own opinions to the inclinations of her brothers, prepared to execute their commands with implicit fubmiffion[g]; and, contrary to her own judgment, and to all the rules of found policy, fhe became the inftrument of exciting civil commotions in Scotland, the fatal termination of which fhe forefaw and dreaded.

The Regent alters her conduct with regard to the Protestants.

From the time of the Queen's competition for the regency with the Duke of Chatelherault, the Popifh clergy, under the direction of the Archbifhop of St. Andrew's, had fet themfelves in oppofition to all her meafures. Her firft ftep towards the execution of her new fcheme, was to regain their favour. Nor was this reconcilement a matter of difficulty. The Popifh ecclefiaftics, feparated from the reft of mankind by the law of celibacy, one of the boldeft and moft fuccefsful efforts of human policy; and combined among themfelves in the clofeft and moft facred union, have been accuftomed, in every age, to facrifice all private and particular paffions to the dignity and intereft of their order. Delighted on this occafion with the profpect of triumphing over a faction, the encroachments of which they had long dreaded, and animated with the hopes of re-eftablifhing their declining grandeur on a firmer bafis, they, at once, cancelled the me-

[g] Melv. 48. Mem. de Caftlenau, ap. Jebb, vol. ii. 446.

mory of paſt injuries, and engaged to ſecond the Queen in all her attempts to check the progreſs of the Reformation. The Queen, being ſecure of their aſſiſtance, openly approved of the decrees of the convocation, by which the principles of the Reformers were condemned; and at the ſame time ſhe iſſued a proclamation, enjoining all perſons to obſerve the approaching feſtival of Eaſter according to the Romiſh ritual.

As it was no longer poſſible to miſtake the Queen's intentions, the Proteſtants, who ſaw the danger approach, in order to avert it, employed the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of London, to expoſtulate with her concerning this change towards ſeverity, which their former ſervices had ſo little merited, and which her reiterated promiſes gave them no reaſon to expect. She, without diſguiſe or apology, avowed to them her reſolution of extirpating the reformed religion out of the kingdom. And, upon their urging her former engagements with an uncourtly, but honeſt boldneſs, ſhe ſo far forgot her uſual moderation, as to utter a ſentiment, which, however apt thoſe of royal condition may be to entertain it, prudence ſhould teach them to conceal as much as poſſible. "The promiſes of Princes," ſays ſhe, "ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unleſs it ſuits their own conveniency."

Summons their preachers to appear before her.

The indignation which betrayed the Queen into this raſh expreſſion, was nothing in compariſon of that with which ſhe was animated, upon

BOOK II. 1559.

upon hearing that the public exercife of the reformed religion had been introduced into the town of Perth. At once fhe threw off the mafk, and iffued a mandate, fummoning all the Proteftant preachers in the kingdom to a court of juftice, which was to be held at Stirling on the tenth of May. The Proteftants, who, from their union, began about this time to be diftinguifhed by the name of the CONGREGATION, were alarmed, but not intimidated by this danger; and inftantly refolved not to abandon the men to whom they were indebted for the moft valuable of all bleffings, the knowledge of truth. At that time there prevailed in Scotland, with refpect to criminal trials, a cuftom, introduced at firft by the inftitutions of vaffalage and clanfhip, and tolerated afterwards under a feeble government; perfons accufed of any crime were accompanied to the place of trial by a retinue of their friends and adherents, affembled for that purpofe from every quarter of the kingdom. Authorifed by this ancient practice, the reformed convened in great numbers, to attend their paftors to Stirling. The Queen dreaded their approach with a train fo numerous, though unarmed; and, in order to prevent them from advancing, fhe empowered John Erfkine of Dun, a perfon of eminent authority with the party, to promife in her name, that fhe would put a ftop to the intended trial, on condition the preachers and their retinue advanced no nearer to Stirling. Erfkine, being convinced himfelf of the Queen's fincerity, ferved her with the utmoft zeal; and the

the Proteſtants, averſe from proceeding to any act of violence, liſtened with pleaſure to ſo pacific a propoſition. The preachers, with a few leaders of the party, remained at Perth; the multitude which had gathered from different parts of the kingdom diſperſed, and retired to their own habitations.

Breaks a promiſe on which they had relied.

BUT, notwithſtanding this ſolemn promiſe, the Queen, on the tenth of May, proceeded to call to trial the perſons who had been ſummoned, and upon their non-appearance the rigour of juſtice took place, and they were pronounced outlaws. By this ignoble artifice, ſo incompatible with regal dignity, and ſo inconſiſtent with that integrity which ſhould prevail in all tranſactions between ſovereigns and their ſubjects, the Queen forfeited the eſteem and confidence of the whole nation. The Proteſtants, ſhocked no leſs at the indecency with which ſhe violated the public faith, than at the danger which threatened themſelves, prepared boldly for their own defence. Erſkine, enraged at having been made the inſtrument for deceiving his party, inſtantly abandoned Stirling, and repairing to Perth, added to the zeal of his aſſociates, by his repreſentations of the Queen's inflexible reſolution to ſuppreſs religion [h].

This occaſions an inſurrection at Perth.

THE popular rhetoric of Knox powerfully ſeconded his repreſentations; he having been carried a priſoner into France, together with the other perſons taken in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, ſoon made his eſcape out of that country; and

[h] Keith, p. 84.

reſiding

BOOK II. 1559.

refiding fometimes in England, fometimes in Scotland, had at laft been driven out of both kingdoms by the rage of the Popifh clergy, and was obliged to retire to Geneva. Thence he was called by the leaders of the Proteftants in Scotland; and, in compliance with their folicitations, he fet out for his native country, where he arrived a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling. He hurried inftantly to Perth, to fhare with his brethren in the common danger, or to affift them in the common caufe. While their minds were in that ferment, which the Queen's perfidioufnefs and their own danger occafioned, he mounted the pulpit, and by a vehement harangue againft idolatry, inflamed the multitude with the utmoft rage. The indifcretion of a prieft, who immediately after Knox's fermon, was preparing to celebrate mafs, and began to decorate the altar for that purpofe, precipitated them into immediate action. With tumultuary, but irrefiftible violence, they fell upon the churches in that city, overturned the altars, defaced the pictures, broke in pieces the images; and proceeding next to the monafteries, they in a few hours laid thofe fumptuous fabrics almoft level with the ground. This riotous infurrection was not the effect of any concert, or previous deliberation; cenfured by the reformed preachers, and publicly condemned by perfons of moft power and credit with the party, it muft be regarded merely as an accidental eruption of popular rage [i].

[i] Knox, Hift. 127, 128.

BUT

1559. The Regent marches againſt them.

But to the Queen Dowager theſe proceedings appeared in a very different light. Beſides their manifeſt contempt for her authority, the Proteſtants had violated every thing in religion which ſhe deemed venerable or holy; and on both theſe accounts ſhe determined to inflict the ſevereſt vengeance on the whole party. She had already drawn the troops in French pay to Stirling; with theſe, and what Scottiſh forces ſhe could levy of a ſudden, ſhe marched directly to Perth, in hopes of ſurpriſing the Proteſtant leaders before they could aſſemble their followers, whom, out of confidence in her diſingenuous promiſes, they had been raſhly induced to diſmiſs. Intelligence of theſe preparations and menaces was ſoon conveyed to Perth. The Proteſtants would gladly have ſoothed the Queen, by addreſſes both to herſelf and to the perſons of greateſt credit in her court; but, finding her inexorable, they, with great vigour, took meaſures for their own defence. Their adherents, animated with zeal for religion, and eager to expoſe themſelves in ſo good a cauſe, flocked in ſuch numbers to Perth, that they not only ſecured the town from danger, but within a few days were in a condition to take the field, and to face the Queen, who advanced with an army ſeven thouſand ſtrong.

Neither party, however, was impatient to engage. the Queen dreaded the event of a battle with men whom the fervour of religion raiſed above the ſenſe of fear or danger. The Proteſtants beheld with regret the Earl of Argyll, the

BOOK II. 1559.

the Prior of St. Andrew's, and ſome other eminent perſons of their party, ſtill adhering to the Queen; and, deſtitute of their aid and counſel, declined hazarding an action, the ill ſucceſs of which might have proved the ruin of their cauſe. The proſpect of an accommodation was for theſe reaſons highly acceptable to both ſides: Argyll and the Prior, who were the Queen's commiſſioners for conducting the negociation, ſeem to have been ſincerely deſirous of reconciling the contending factions; and the Earl of Glencairn arriving unexpectedly with a powerful reinforcement to the Congregation, augmented the Queen's eagerneſs for peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded, in which it was ſtipulated that both armies ſhould be diſbanded, and the gates of Perth ſet open to the Queen; that indemnity ſhould be granted to the inhabitants of that city, and to all others concerned in the late inſurrection; that no French garriſon ſhould be left in Perth, and no French ſoldier ſhould approach within three miles of that place; and that a parliament ſhould immediately be held, in order to compoſe whatever difference might ſtill remain[k].

A treaty concluded.

May 29.

THE leaders of the Congregation, diſtruſtful of the Queen's ſincerity, and ſenſible that conceſſions, flowing not from inclination, but extorted by the neceſſity of her affairs, could not long remain in force, entered into a new aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves, on the firſt infringement of the preſent treaty, or

[k] Keith, 89.

on

1559.

on the leaſt appearance of danger to their religion, to reaſſemble their followers, and to take arms in defence of what they deemed the cauſe of God and of their country[1].

Broken by the Regent.

THE Queen, by her conduct, demonſtrated theſe precautions to be the reſult of no groundleſs or unneceſſary fear. No ſooner were the Proteſtant forces diſmiſſed, than ſhe broke every article in the treaty. She introduced French troops into Perth, fined ſome of the inhabitants, baniſhed others, removed the magiſtrates out of office, and, on her retiring to Stirling, ſhe left behind her a garriſon of ſix hundred men, with orders to allow the exerciſe of no other religion than the Roman Catholic. The ſituation of Perth, a place at that time of ſome ſtrength, and a town among the moſt proper of any in the kingdom for the ſtation of a garriſon, ſeems to have allured the Queen to this unjuſtifiable and ill-judged breach of public faith; which ſhe endeavoured to colour, by alleging that the body of men left at Perth was entirely compoſed of native Scots, though kept in pay by the King of France.

THE Queen's ſcheme began gradually to unfold; it was now apparent, that not only the religion, but the liberties of the kingdom were threatened; and that the French troops were to be employed as inſtruments for ſubduing the Scots, and wreathing the yoke about their necks. Martial as the genius of the Scots then was, the poverty of their country made it impoſſible to

[1] Knox, 238.

keep

BOOK II. 1559.

keep their armies long aſſembled; and even a very ſmall body of regular troops might have proved formidable to the nation, though conſiſting wholly of ſoldiers. But what number of French forces were then in Scotland, at what times, and under what pretext they returned, after having left the kingdom in one thouſand five hundred and fifty, we cannot with any certainty determine. Contemporary hiſtorians often ſelect with little judgment the circumſtances which they tranſmit to poſterity; and with reſpect to matters of the greateſt curioſity and importance, leave ſucceeding ages altogether in the dark. We may conjecture, however, from ſome paſſages in Buchanan, that the French and Scots in French pay, amounted at leaſt to three thouſand men, under the command of Monſieur D'Oyſel, a creature of the Houſe of Guiſe; and they were ſoon augmented to a much more formidable number.

The Pro-teſtants again take arms.

The Queen, encouraged by having ſo conſiderable a body of well-diſciplined troops at her command, and inſtigated by the violent counſels of D'Oyſel, had ventured, as we have obſerved, to violate the treaty of Perth, and, by that raſh action, once more threw the nation into the moſt dangerous convulſions. The Earl of Argyll and the Prior of St. Andrew's inſtantly deſerted a court where faith and honour ſeemed to them to be no longer regarded; and joined the leaders of the Congregation, who had retreated to the eaſtern part of Fife. The barons from the neighbouring counties repaired to them, the

preachers

preachers rouſed the people to arms, and whereever they came, the ſame violent operations which accident had occaſioned at Perth, were now encouraged out of policy. The enraged multitude was let looſe, and churches and monaſteries, the monuments of eccleſiaſtic pride and luxury, were ſacrificed to their zeal.

In order to check their career, the Queen, without loſing a moment, put her troops in motion; but the zeal of the Congregation got the ſtart once more of her vigilance and activity. In that warlike age, when all men were accuſtomed to arms, and on the leaſt proſpect of danger were ready to run to them, the leaders of the Proteſtants found no difficulty to raiſe an army. Though they ſet out from St. Andrew's with a ſlender train of an hundred horſe, crowds flocked to their ſtandards from every corner of the country through which they marched; and before they reached Falkland, a village only ten miles diſtant, they were able to meet the Queen with ſuperior force[m].

The Queen, ſurpriſed at the approach of ſo formidable a body, which was drawn up by its leaders in ſuch a manner as added greatly in appearance to its numbers, had again recourſe to negotiation. She found, however, that the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, their zeal for which had at firſt rouſed the leaders of the Congregation to take arms, was not the only

[m] Knox, 141.

BOOK II. 1559.

object they had now in view. They were animated with the warmeſt love of civil liberty, which they conçeived to be in imminent danger from the attempts of the French forces: and theſe two paſſions mingling, added reciprocally to each other's ſtrength. Together with more enlarged notions in religion, the Reformation filled the human mind with more liberal and generous ſentiments concerning civil government. The genius of Popery is extremely favourable to the power of Princes. The implicit ſubmiſſion to all her decrees, which is exacted by the Romiſh church, prepares and breaks the mind for political ſervitude; and the doctrines of the Reformers, by overturning the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of ſuperſtition, weakened the firmeſt foundations of civil tyranny. That bold ſpirit of inquiry, which led men to reject theological errors, accompanied them in other ſciences, and diſcovered every-where the ſame manly zeal for truth. A new ſtudy, introduced at the ſame time, added greater force to the ſpirit of liberty. Men became more acquainted with the Greek and Roman authors, who deſcribed exquiſite models of free government, far ſuperior to the inaccurate and oppreſſive ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the feudal law; and produced ſuch illuſtrious examples of public virtue, as wonderfully ſuited both the circumſtances and ſpirit of that age. Many among the moſt eminent Reformers were themſelves conſiderable maſters in ancient learning; and all of them eagerly adopted the maxims

They aim at redreſſing civil as well as religious grievances.

and

and ſpirit of the ancients, with regard to government[n]. The moſt ardent love of liberty accompanied the Proteſtant religion throughout all its progreſs; and wherever it was embraced, it rouſed an independent ſpirit, which rendered men attentive to their privileges as ſubjects, and jealous of the incroachments of their ſovereigns. Knox, and the other preachers of the Reformation, infuſed generous ſentiments concerning government into the minds of their hearers; and the Scottiſh barons, naturally free and bold, were prompted to aſſert their rights with more freedom and boldneſs than ever. Inſtead of obeying the Queen Regent, who had enjoined them to lay down their arms, they demanded not only the redreſs of their religious grievances, but, as a preliminary toward ſettling the nation, and ſecuring its liberties, required the immediate expulſion of the French troops out of Scotland. It was not in the Queen's power to make ſo important a conceſſion without the concurrence of the French Monarch; and as ſome time was requiſite in order to obtain that, ſhe hoped, during this interval, to receive ſuch

[n] The exceſſive admiration of ancient policy was the occaſion of Knox's famous book concerning the *Government of Women*, wherein, conformable to the maxims of the ancient legiſlators, which modern experience has proved to be ill founded, he pronounces the elevation of women to the ſupreme authority, to be utterly deſtructive of good government. His principles, authorities, and examples, were all drawn from ancient writers. The ſame obſervation may be made with regard to Buchanan's Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. It is founded, not on the maxims of feudal, but of ancient republican government.

 reinforce-

BOOK II. 1559. June 13. reinforcements from France, as would inſure the accompliſhment of that deſign which ſhe had twice attempted with unequal ſtrength. Meanwhile, ſhe agreed to a ceſſation of arms for eight days, and before the expiration of theſe, engaged to tranſport the French troops to the ſouth ſide of the Forth; and to ſend commiſſioners to St. Andrew's, who ſhould labour to bring all differences to an accommodation. As ſhe hoped, by means of the French troops, to overawe the Proteſtants in the ſouthern counties, the former article in the treaty was punctually executed; the latter, having been inſerted merely to amuſe the Congregation, was no longer remembered.

A ſecond treaty violated.

By theſe reiterated and wanton inſtances of perfidy, the Queen loſt all credit with her adverſaries; and no ſafety appearing in any other cauſe, they again took arms with more inflamed reſentment, and with bolder and more extenſive views. The removing of the French forces had laid open to them all the country ſituated between Forth and Tay. The inhabitants of Perth alone remaining ſubjected to the inſolence and exactions of the garriſon which the Queen had left there, implored the aſſiſtance of the Congregation for their relief. Thither they marched, and having without effect required the Queen to evacuate the town in terms of the former treaty, they prepared to beſiege it in form. The Queen employed the Earl of Huntly and Lord Erſkine to divert them from this enterpriſe. But her wonted artifices were now of no avail; repeated

ſo often, they could deceive no longer; and, without liſtening to her offers, the Proteſtants continued the ſiege, and ſoon obliged the garriſon to capitulate.

After the loſs of Perth, the Queen endeavoured to ſeize Stirling, a place of ſome ſtrength, and, from its command of the only bridge over the Forth, of great importance. But the leaders of the Congregation, having intelligence of her deſign, prevented the execution of it, by an haſty march thither with part of their forces. The inhabitants, heartily attached to the cauſe, ſet open to them the gates of their town. Thence they advanced, which the ſame rapidity, towards Edinburgh, which the Queen, on their approach, abandoned with precipitation, and retired to Dunbar.

Rapid march and ſucceſs of the Proteſtants.

The Proteſtant army, wherever it came, kindled or ſpread the ardour of Reformation, and the utmoſt exceſſes of violence were committed upon churches and monaſteries. The former were ſpoiled of every decoration, which was then eſteemed ſacred; the latter were laid in ruins. We are apt, at this diſtance of time, to condemn the furious zeal of the Reformers, and to regret the overthrow of ſo many ſtately fabrics, the monuments of our anceſtors' magnificence, and among the nobleſt ornaments of the kingdom. But amidſt the violence of a Reformation, carried on in oppoſition to legal authority, ſome irregularities were unavoidable; and perhaps no one could have been permitted more proper to allure and intereſt the multitude, or more fatal

BOOK II. 1559.

to the grandeur of the eſtabliſhed church. How abſurd ſoever and ill-founded the ſpeculative errors of Popery may be, ſome enquiry and attention are requiſite towards diſcovering them. The abuſes and corruptions which had crept into the public worſhip of that church, lay more open to obſervation, and by ſtriking the ſenſes, excited more univerſal diſguſt. Under the long reign of heatheniſm, ſuperſtition ſeemed to have exhauſted its talent of invention, ſo that when a ſuperſtitious ſpirit ſeized Chriſtians, they were obliged to imitate the heathens in the pomp and magnificence of their ceremonies, and to borrow from them the ornaments and decorations of their temples. To the pure and ſimple worſhip of the primitive Chriſtians, there ſucceeded a ſpecies of ſplendid idolatry, nearly reſembling thoſe Pagan originals whence it had been copied. The contrariety of ſuch obſervances to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, was almoſt the firſt thing, in the Romiſh ſyſtem, which awakened the indignation of the Reformers, who, applying to theſe the denunciations in the Old Teſtament againſt idolatry, imagined that they could not endeavour at ſuppreſſing them with too much zeal. No taſk could be more acceptable to the multitude, than to overturn thoſe ſeats of ſuperſtition; they ran with emulation to perform it, and happy was the man whoſe hand was moſt adventurous and ſucceſsful in executing a work deemed ſo pious. Nor did their leaders labour to reſtrain this impetuous ſpirit of Reformation. Irregular and violent as its ſallies were, they tended directly

to

to that end which they had in view: for, by demolishing the monasteries throughout the kingdom, and setting at liberty their wretched inhabitants, they hoped to render it impossible ever to rebuild the one, or to reassemble the other. BOOK II. 1559.

But amidst these irregular proceedings, a circumstance which does honour to the conduct and humanity of the leaders of the Congregation deserves notice. They so far restrained the rage of their followers, and were able so to temper their heat and zeal, that few of the Roman Catholics were exposed to any personal insult, and not a single man suffered death[o].

At the same time we discover, by the facility with which these great revolutions were effected, how violently the current of national favour ran towards the Reformation. No more than three hundred men marched out of Perth under the Earl of Argyll and Prior of St. Andrew's[p]; with this inconsiderable force they advanced. But wherever they came, the people joined them in a body; their army was seldom less numerous than five thousand men: the gates of every town were thrown open to receive them: and, without striking a single blow, they took possession of the capital of the kingdom. June 29.

This rapid and astonishing success seems to have encouraged the Reformers to extend their views, and to rise in their demands. Not satisfied with their first claim of toleration for their religion, they now openly aimed at establishing the Protestant doctrine on the ruins of Popery.

[o] Lesley, ap. Jebb, vol. i. 231. [p] Keith, 94.

For

BOOK II. 1559.

For this reaſon they determined to fix their reſidence at Edinburgh; and, by their appointment, Knox, and ſome other preachers, taking poſſeſſion of the pulpits, which had been abandoned by the affrightened clergy, declaimed againſt the errors of Popery with ſuch fervent zeal as could not fail of gaining many proſelytes.

In the mean time, the Queen, who had prudently given way to a torrent which ſhe could not reſiſt, obſerved with pleaſure that it now began to ſubſide. The leaders of the Congregation had been above two months in arms, and by the expences of a campaign, protracted ſo long beyond the uſual time of ſervice in that age, had exhauſted all the money which a country where riches did not abound, had been able to ſupply. The multitude, dazzled with their ſucceſs, and concluding the work to be already done, retired to their own habitations. A few only of the more zealous or wealthy barons remained with their preachers at Edinburgh. As intelligence is procured in civil wars with little difficulty, whatever was tranſacted at Edinburgh was ſoon known at Dunbar. The Queen, regulating her own conduct by the ſituation of her adverſaries, artfully amuſed them with the proſpect of an immediate accommodation; while, at the ſame time, ſhe by ſtudied delays ſpun out the negotiations for that purpoſe to ſuch a length, that, in the end, the party dwindled to an inconſiderable number; and, as if peace had been already re-eſtabliſhed, became careleſs of military diſcipline. The Queen, who watched for

for ſuch an opportunity, advanced unexpectedly, by a ſudden march in the night, with all her forces, and appearing before Edinburgh, filled that city with the utmoſt conſternation. The Proteſtants, weakened by the imprudent diſperſion of their followers, durſt not encounter the French troops in the open field; and were even unable to defend an ill-fortified town againſt their aſſaults. Unwilling, however, to abandon the citizens to the Queen's mercy, they endeavoured, by facing the enemy's army, to gain time for collecting their own aſſociates. But the Queen, in ſpite of all their reſiſtance, would have eaſily forced her way into the town, if the ſeaſonable concluſion of a truce had not procured her admiſſion without the effuſion of blood.

A third treaty.

THEIR dangerous ſituation eaſily induced the leaders of the Congregation to liſten to any overtures of peace; and as the Queen was looking daily for the arrival of a ſtrong reinforcement from France, and expected great advantages from a ceſſation of arms, ſhe alſo agreed to it upon no unequal conditions. Together with a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, from the twenty-fourth of July to the tenth of January, it was ſtipulated in this treaty, that, on the one hand, the Proteſtants ſhould open the gates of Edinburgh next morning to the Queen Regent; remain in dutiful ſubjection to her government; abſtain from all future violation of religious houſes; and give no interruption to the eſtabliſhed clergy, either in the diſcharge of their functions, or in the enjoyment of their benefices. On the other

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

BOOK II. 1559. other hand, the Queen agreed to give no molestation to the preachers or professors of the Protestant religion; to allow the citizens of Edinburgh, during the cessation of hostilities, to enjoy the exercise of religious worship according to the form most agreeable to the conscience of each individual: and to permit the free and public profession of the Protestant faith in every part of the kingdom[q]. The Queen, by these liberal concessions in behalf of their religion, hoped to sooth the Protestants, and expected, from indulging their favourite passion, to render them more compliant with respect to other articles, particularly the expulsion of the French troops out of Scotland. The anxiety which the Queen expressed for retaining this body of men, rendered them more and more the objects of national jealousy and aversion. The immediate expulsion of them was therefore demanded anew, and with greater warmth; but the Queen taking advantage of the distress of the adverse party, eluded the request, and would consent to nothing more, than that a French garrison should not be introduced into Edinburgh.

The desperate state of their affairs imposed on the Congregation the necessity of agreeing to this article, which, however, was very far from giving them satisfaction. Whatever apprehensions the Scots had conceived, from retaining the French forces in the kingdom, were abundantly justified during the late commotions.

[q] Keith, 98. Maitland, Hist. of Edin. 16, 17.

A ſmall body of thoſe troops, maintained in conſtant pay, and rendered formidable by regular diſcipline, had checked the progreſs of a martial people, though animated with zeal both for religion and liberty. The ſmalleſt addition to their number, and a conſiderable one was daily expected, might prove fatal to the public liberty, and Scotland might be expoſed to the danger of being reduced from an independent kingdom, to the mean condition of a province, annexed to the dominions of its powerful ally.

In order to provide againſt this imminent calamity, the Duke of Chatelherault, and Earl of Huntly, immediately after concluding the truce, deſired an interview with the chiefs of the Congregation. Theſe two noblemen, the moſt potent at that time in Scotland, were the leaders of the party which adhered to the eſtabliſhed church. They had followed the Queen, during the late commotions, and having acceſs to obſerve more narrowly the dangerous tendency of her councils, their abhorrence of the yoke which was preparing for their country ſurmounted all other conſiderations, and determined them rather to endanger the religion which they profeſſed, than to give their aid towards the execution of her pernicious deſigns. They proceeded farther, and promiſed to Argyll, Glencairn, and the Prior of St. Andrew's who were appointed to meet them, that if the Queen ſhould, with her uſual inſincerity, violate any article in the treaty of truce, or refuſe to gratify the wiſhes of the whole nation, by diſmiſſing her French troops,

BOOK II. 1559. troops, they would then instantly join with their countrymen in compelling her to a measure, which the public safety, and the preservation of their liberties, rendered necessary[r].

July 8. About this time died Henry II. of France; just when he had adopted a system with regard to the affairs of Scotland, which would, in all probability, have restored union and tranquillity to that kingdom[s]. Towards the close of his reign, the Princes of Lorrain began visibly to decline in favour, and the Constable Montmorency, by the assistance of the Duchess of Valentinois, recovered that ascendant over the spirit of his master, which his great experience, and his faithful, though often unfortunate services seemed justly to merit. That prudent minister imputed the insurrections in Scotland wholly to the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain, whose violent and precipitant councils could not fail of transporting, beyond all bounds of moderation, men whose minds were possessed with that jealousy which is inseparable from the love of civil liberty, or inflamed with that ardour which accompanies religious zeal. Montmorency, in order to convince Henry that he did not load his rivals with any groundless accusation, prevailed to have Melvil[t], a Scottish gentleman of his retinue, dispatched into his native country, with instructions to observe the motions both of the Regent and of her adversaries; and the King agreed to regulate his

[r] Knox, 154. [s] Melv. 49.
[t] The author of the Memoirs.

ſuture proceedings in that kingdom by Melvil's report.

1559.

Did hiſtory indulge herſelf in theſe ſpeculations, it would be amuſing to inquire what a different direction might have been given by this reſolution to the national ſpirit; and to what a different iſſue Melvil's report, which would have ſet the conduct of the malcontents in the moſt favourable light, might have conducted the public diſorders. Perhaps, by gentle treatment, and artful policy, the progreſs of the Reformation might have been checked, and Scotland brought to depend upon France. Perhaps, by gaining poſſeſſion of this avenue, the French might have made their way into England, and, under colour of ſupporting Mary's title to the crown, they might not only have defeated all Elizabeth's meaſures in favour of the Reformation, but have re-eſtabliſhed the Roman Catholic religion, and deſtroyed the liberties of that kingdom. But, into this boundleſs field of fancy and conjecture, the hiſtorian muſt make no excurſions; to relate real occurrences, and to explain their real cauſes and effects, is his peculiar and only province.

Acceſſion of Francis II. to the crown of France.

The tragical and untimely death of the French Monarch put an end to all moderate and pacific meaſures with regard to Scotland. The Duke of Guiſe, and the Cardinal his brother, upon the acceſſion of Francis II., a Prince void of genius, and without experience, aſſumed the chief direction of French affairs. Allied ſo nearly to the throne, by their marriage of the niece the

Queen

BOOK II. 1559. Queen of Scots with the young King, they now wanted but little of regal dignity, and nothing of regal power. This power did not long remain inactive in their hands. The ſame vaſt ſchemes of ambition, which they had planned out under the former reign, were again reſumed; and they were enabled, by poſſeſſing ſuch ample authority, to purſue them with more vigour and greater probability of ſucceſs. They beheld, with infinite regret, the progreſs of the Proteſtant religion in Scotland; and, ſenſible what an unſurmountable obſtacle it would prove to their deſigns, they bent all their ſtrength to check its growth, before it roſe to any greater height. For this purpoſe they carried on their preparations with all poſſible expedition, and encouraged the Queen their ſiſter to expect, in a ſhort time, the arrival of an army ſo powerful as the zeal of their adverſaries, however deſperate, would not venture to oppoſe.

Nor were the Lords of the Congregation either ignorant of thoſe violent counſels which prevailed in the court of France ſince the death of Henry, or careleſs of providing againſt the danger which threatened them from that quarter. The ſucceſs of their cauſe, as well as their perſonal ſafety, depending entirely on the unanimity and vigour of their own reſolutions, they endeavoured to guard againſt diviſion, and to cement together more cloſely, by entering into a ſtricter bond of confederacy and mutual defence. Two perſons concurred in this new aſſociation, who brought a great acceſſion both of

of reputation and of power to the party. Theſe were the Duke of Chatelherault, and his eldeſt ſon the Earl of Arran. This young nobleman, having reſided ſome years in France, where he commanded the Scottiſh guards, had imbibed the Proteſtant opinions concerning religion. Hurried along by the heat of youth and the zeal of a proſelyte, he had uttered ſentiments with reſpect to the points in controverſy, which did not ſuit the temper of a bigotted court, intent at that juncture on the extinction of the Proteſtant religion; in order to accompliſh which, the greateſt exceſſes of violence were committed. The church was ſuffered to wreak its utmoſt fury upon all who were ſuſpected of hereſy. Courts were erected in different parts of France, to take cognizance of this crime, and by their ſentences ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were condemned to the flames.

But, in order to inſpire more univerſal terror, the Princes of Lorrain reſolved to ſelect, for a ſacrifice, ſome perſons whoſe fall might convince all ranks of men, that neither ſplendour of birth, nor eminence in ſtation, could exempt from puniſhment thoſe who ſhould be guilty of this unpardonable tranſgreſſion. The Earl of Arran was the perſon deſtined to be the unhappy victim[u]. As he was allied to one throne, and the preſumptive heir to another; as he poſſeſſed the firſt rank in his own country, and enjoyed an honourable ſtation in France; his condemnation could not fail of making the deſired im-

[u] Thuan. lib. xxiv. p. 462. Edid. Francof.

preſſion

BOOK II. 1559. preſſion on the whole kingdom. But the Cardinal of Lorrain having let fall ſome expreſſions, which raiſed Arran's ſuſpicions of the deſign, he eſcaped the intended blow by a timely flight. Indignation, zeal, reſentment, all prompted him to ſeek revenge upon theſe perſecutors of himſelf and of the religion which he profeſſed; and as he paſſed through England, on his return to his native country, Elizabeth, by hopes and promiſes, inflamed thoſe paſſions, and ſent him back into Scotland, animated with the ſame implacable averſion to France, which poſſeſſed a great part of his countrymen. He quickly communicated theſe ſentiments to his father the Duke of Chatelherault, who was already extremely diſguſted with the meaſures carrying on in Scotland; and as it was the fate of that nobleman to be governed in every inſtance by thoſe about him, he now ſuffered himſelf to be drawn from the Queen Regent; and, having joined the Congregation, was conſidered, from that time, as the head of the party.

Earl of Arran joins the Proteſtants.

But with reſpect to him, this diſtinction was merely nominal. James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrew's, was the perſon who moved and actuated the whole body of the Proteſtants, among whom he poſſeſſed that unbounded confidence, which his ſtrenuous adherence to their intereſt and his great abilities ſo juſtly merited. He was the natural ſon of James V., by a daughter of Lord Erſkine; and as that amorous monarch had left ſeveral others a burden upon the crown, they were all deſtined for the church,

where

where they could be placed in ſtations of dignity and affluence. In conſequence of this reſolution, the priory of St. Andrew's had been conferred upon James: but, during ſo buſy a period, he ſoon became diſguſted with the indolence and retirement of a monaſtic life; and his enterpriſing genius called him forth to act a principal part on a more public and conſpicuous theatre. The ſcene in which he appeared required talents of different kinds: military virtue, and political diſcernment, were equally neceſſary in order to render him illuſtrious. Theſe he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree. To the moſt unqueſtionable perſonal bravery, he added great ſkill in the art of war, and in every enterpriſe his arms were crowned with ſucceſs. His ſagacity and penetration in civil affairs enabled him, amidſt the reeling and turbulence of factions, to hold a proſperous courſe; while his boldneſs in defence of the Reformation, together with the decency, and even ſeverity, of his manners, ſecured him the reputation of being ſincerely attached to religion, without which it was impoſſible in that age to gain an aſcendant over mankind.

It was not without reaſon that the Queen dreaded the enmity of a man ſo capable to obſtruct her deſigns. As ſhe could not, with all her addreſs, make the leaſt impreſſion on his fidelity to his aſſociates, ſhe endeavoured to leſſen his influence, and to ſcatter among them the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſtruſt, by inſinuating that the ambition of the Prior aſpired beyond the

BOOK II. 1559. the condition of a ſubject, and aimed at nothing leſs than the crown itſelf.

An accuſation ſo improbable gained but little credit. Whatever thoughts of this kind the preſumption of unexpected ſucceſs, and his elevation to the higheſt dignity in the kingdom, may be alledged to have inſpired at any ſubſequent period, it is certain that at this juncture he could form no ſuch vaſt deſign. To dethrone a Queen, who was lineal heir to an ancient race of monarchs; who had been guilty of no action by which ſhe could forfeit the eſteem and affection of her ſubjects; who could employ, in defence of her rights, the forces of a kingdom much more powerful than her own; and to ſubſtitute in her place, a perſon whom the illegitimacy of his birth, by the practice of all civilized nations, rendered incapable of any inheritance either public or private; was a project ſo chimerical as the moſt extravagant ambition would hardly entertain, and could never conceive to be practicable. The promiſe too, which the Prior made to Melvil, of reſiding conſtantly in France, on condition the public grievances were redreſſed[x]; the confidence repoſed in him by the Duke of Chatelherault and his ſon, the preſumptive heirs to the crown; and the concurrence of almoſt all the Scottiſh nobles, in promoting the meaſures by which he gave offence to the French court; go far towards his vindication from thoſe illegal and criminal de-

[x] Melvil, 54.

ſigns,

ſigns, with the imputation of which the Queen endeavoured at that time to load him.

1559. Troops arrive from France, and fortify Leith.

The arrival of a thouſand French ſoldiers compenſated in ſome degree, for the loſs which the Queen ſuſtained by the defection of the Duke of Chatelherault. Theſe were immediately commanded to fortify Leith, in which place, on account of its commodious harbour, and its ſituation in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and in a plentiful country, the Queen reſolved to fix the head-quarters of her foreign forces. This unpopular meaſure, by the manner of executing it, was rendered ſtill more unpopular. In order to bring the town entirely under their command, the French turned out a great part of the ancient inhabitants, and, taking poſſeſſion of the houſes, which they had obliged them to abandon, preſented to the view of the Scots two objects equally irritating and offenſive; on the one hand, a number of their countrymen expelled their habitations by violence, and wandering without any certain abode; on the other, a colony of foreigners ſettling with their wives and children in the heart of Scotland, growing into ſtrength by daily reinforcements, and openly preparing a yoke, to which, without ſome timely exertion of national ſpirit, the whole kingdom muſt of neceſſity ſubmit.

The Proteſtants remonſtrate againſt this.

It was with deep concern that the lords of the Congregation beheld this bold and deciſive ſtep taken by the Queen Regent: nor did they heſitate a moment, whether they ſhould employ their

BOOK II. 1559.

their whole ſtrength, in one generous effort, to reſcue their religion and liberty from impending deſtruction. But, in order to juſtify their own conduct, and to throw the blame entirely on their adverſaries, they reſolved to preſerve the appearances of decency and reſpect towards their ſuperiors, and to have no recourſe to arms without the moſt urgent and apparent neceſſity. They joined, with this view, in an addreſs to the Regent, repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, their diſſatisfaction with the meaſures ſhe was purſuing, and beſeeching her to quiet the fears and jealouſies of the nation by deſiſting from fortifying Leith. The Queen, conſcious of her preſent advantageous ſituation, and elated with the hopes of freſh ſuccours, was in no diſpoſition for liſtening to demands utterly inconſiſtent with her views, and urged with that bold importunity which is ſo little acceptable to Princes [y].

Sept. 29.

The Regent diſregards their remonſtrances.

THE ſuggeſtions of her French counſellors contributed, without doubt, to alienate her ſtill farther from any ſcheme of accommodation. As the Queen was ready on all occaſions to diſcover an extraordinary deference for the opinions of her countrymen, her brothers, who knew her ſecret diſapprobation of the violent meaſures they were driving on, took care to place near her ſuch perſons as betrayed her, by their inſinuations, into many actions, which her own unbiaſſed judgment would have highly condemned. As their ſucceſs in the preſent juncture, when all things were haſtening to-

[y] Haynes, 211.

wards

wards a crisis, depended entirely on the Queen's firmness, the Princes of Lorrain did not trust wholly to the influence of their ordinary agents; but, in order to add the greater weight to their councils, they called in aid the ministers of religion; and, by the authority of their sacred character, they hoped effectually to recommend to their sister that system of severity which they had espoused[z]. With this view, but under pretence of confounding the Protestants by the skill of such able masters in controversy, they appointed several French divines to reside in Scotland. At the head of these, and with the character of legate from the Pope, was Pellevé Bishop of Amiens, and afterwards Archbishop and Cardinal of Sens, a furious bigot[a], servilely devoted to the house of Guise, and a proper instrument for recommending or executing the most outrageous measures.

Amidst the noise and danger of civil arms, these doctors had little opportunity to display their address in the use of their theological weapons. But they gave no small offence to the nation by one of their actions. They persuaded the Queen to seize the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, which had remained, ever since the late truce, in the hands of the Protestants; and having, by a new and solemn consecration, purified the fabric from the pollution with which they supposed the profane ministrations of the Protestants to have defiled it, they, in direct con-

[z] Lesley, 215. Castlenau, ap. Jebb, vol. ii. 446. 473.
[a] Davila Brantome.

 tradition

BOOK II. 1559. tradiction to one article in the late treaty, re-establiſhed there the rites of the Romiſh church. This, added to the indifference, and even contempt, with which the Queen received their remonſtrances, convinced the lords of the Congregation, that it was not only vain to expect any redreſs of their grievances at her hands, but abſolutely neceſſary to take arms in their own defence.

They take arms in their own defence.

THE eager and impetuous ſpirit of the nation, as well as every conſideration of good policy, prompted them to take this bold ſtep without delay. It was but a ſmall part of the French auxiliaries which had as yet arrived. The fortifications of Leith, though advancing faſt, were ſtill far from being complete. Under theſe circumſtances of diſadvantage, they conceived it poſſible to ſurpriſe the Queen's party, and, by one ſudden and deciſive blow, to prevent all

October 6.

future bloodſhed and contention. Full of theſe expectations, they advanced rapidly towards Edinburgh with a numerous army. But it was no eaſy matter to deceive an adverſary as vigilant and attentive as the Queen Regent. With her uſual ſagacity, ſhe both foreſaw the danger, and took the only proper courſe to avoid it. Inſtead of keeping the field againſt enemies ſuperior in number, and formidable on a day of battle by the ardour of their courage, ſhe retired into Leith, and determined patiently to wait the arrival of new reinforcements. Slight and unfiniſhed as the fortifications of that town then were, ſhe did not dread the efforts of an army, pro-

vided neither with heavy cannon nor with military ſtores, and little acquainted with the method of attacking any place fortified with more art than thoſe ancient towers erected all over the kingdom in defence of private property againſt the incurſions of banditti.

Nor did the Queen meanwhile neglect to have recourſe to thoſe arts which ſhe had often employed to weaken or divide her adverſaries. By private ſolicitations and promiſes ſhe ſhook the fidelity, or abated the ardour of ſome. By open reproach and accuſation ſhe blaſted the reputation, and diminiſhed the authority of others. Her emiſſaries were every where at work, and, notwithſtanding the zeal for religion and liberty which then animated the nation, they ſeem to have laboured not without ſucceſs. We find Knox, about this period, abounding in complaints of the lukewarm and languid ſpirit which had begun to ſpread among his party [b]. But if their zeal ſlackened a little, and ſuffered a momentary intermiſſion, it ſoon blazed up with freſh vigour, and roſe to a greater height than ever.

Renew their remonſtrances;

The Queen herſelf gave occaſion to this, by the reply which ſhe made to a new remonſtrance from the lords of the Congregation. Upon their arrival at Edinburgh, they once more repreſented to her the dangers ariſing from the increaſe of the French troops, the fortifying of Leith, and her other meaſures, which they conceived to be deſtructive to the peace and liberty of the kingdom; and in this addreſs they ſpoke

[b] Knox, 180.

BOOK II. 1559.

in a firmer tone, and avowed, more openly than ever, their resolution of proceeding to the utmost extremities, in order to put a stop to such dangerous encroachments. To a remonstrance of this nature, and urged with so much boldness, the Queen replied in terms no less vigorous and explicit. She pretended that she was not accountable to the confederate lords for any part of her conduct; and upon no representation of theirs would she either abandon measures which she deemed necessary, or dismiss forces which she found useful, or demolish a fortification which might prove of advantage. At the same time she required them, on pain of treason, to disband the forces which they had assembled.

but without success.

THIS haughty and imperious style sounded harshly to Scottish nobles, impatient, from their national character, of the slightest appearance of injury; accustomed, even from their own monarchs, to the most respectful treatment; and possessing, under an aristocratical form of government, such a share of power, as equalled at all times, and often controlled, that of the sovereign. They were sensible, at once, of the indignity offered to themselves, and alarmed with this plain declaration of the Queen's intentions; and as there now remained but one step to take, they wanted neither public spirit nor resolution to take it.

Deliberate concerning the course which they ought to take. Oct. 21.

BUT, that they might not seem to depart from the established forms of the constitution, for which, even amidst their most violent operations, men always retain the greatest reverence, they assembled

ſembled all the peers, barons, and repreſentatives of boroughs, who adhered to their party. Theſe formed a convention, which exceeded in number, and equalled in dignity, the uſual meetings of parliament. The leaders of the Congregation laid before them the declaration which the Queen had given in anſwer to their remonſtrance; repreſented the unavoidable ruin which the meaſures ſhe therein avowed and juſtified would bring upon the kingdom; and, requiring their direction with regard to the obedience due to an adminiſtration ſo unjuſt and oppreſſive, they ſubmitted to their deciſion a queſtion, one of the moſt delicate and intereſting that can poſſibly fall under the conſideration of ſubjects.

THIS aſſembly proceeded to decide with no leſs diſpatch than unanimity. Strangers to thoſe forms which protract buſineſs; unacquainted with the arts which make a figure in debate; and much more fitted for action than diſcourſe; a warlike people always haſten to a concluſion, and bring their deliberations to the ſhorteſt iſſue. It was the work but of one day, to examine and to reſolve this nice problem, concerning the behaviour of ſubjects towards a ruler who abuſes his power. But, however, abrupt their proceedings may appear, they were not deſtitute of ſolemnity. As the determination of the point in doubt was conceived to be no leſs the office of divines than of laymen, the former were called to aſſiſt with their opinion. Knox and Willox appeared for the whole order, and pronounced, without heſitation, both from the precepts and examples

BOOK II. 1559.

examples in fcripture, that it was lawful for fubjects not only to refift tyrannical Princes, but to deprive them of that authority, which in their hands, becomes an inftrument for deftroying thofe whom the Almighty ordained them to protect. The decifion of perfons revered fo highly for their facred character, but more for their zeal and their piety, had great weight with the whole affembly. Not fatisfied with the common indifcriminate manner of fignifying confent, every perfon prefent was called in his turn to declare his fentiments, and rifing up in order, all gave their fuffrages, without one dif-fenting voice, for depriving the Queen of the office of Regent, which fhe exercifed fo much to the detriment of the kingdom[c].

They deprive the Queen of the office of Regent.

The motives of their conduct.

THIS extraordinary fentence was owing no lefs to the love of liberty, than to zeal for religion. In the act of deprivation, religious grievances are flightly mentioned; and the dangerous encroachments of the Queen upon the civil conftitution are produced, by the lords of the Congregation, in order to prove their conduct to have been not only juft but neceffary. The introducing foreign troops into a kingdom at peace with all the world; the feizing and fortifying towns in different parts of the country; the promoting ftrangers to offices of great power and dignity; the debafing the current coin[d]; the fubverting

[c] Knox, 184.

[d] The ftandard of money in Scotland was continually varying. In the 16th of James V., A.D. 1529, a pound weight of gold, when coined, produced 108 pounds of current money. But

ſubverting the ancient laws; the impoſing of new and burdenſome taxes; and the attempting to ſubdue the kingdom, and to oppreſs its liberties, by open and repeated acts of violence, are enumerated at great length, and placed in the ſtrongeſt light. On all theſe accounts, the Congregation maintained, that the nobles, as counſellors by birth-right to their monarchs, and the guardians and defenders of the conſtitution, had a right to interpoſe; and therefore, by virtue of this right, in the name of the King and Queen, and with many expreſſions of duty and ſubmiſſion towards them, they deprived the Queen Regent of her office, and ordained that, for the future, no obedience ſhould be given to her commands [e].

VIOLENT as this action may appear, there wanted not principles in the conſtitution, nor precedents in the hiſtory, of Scotland, to juſtify and to authoriſe it. Under the ariſtocratical

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But under the Queen Regent's adminiſtration, A. D. 1556, a pound weight of gold, although the quantity of alloy was conſiderably increaſed, produced 144l. current money. In 1529, a pound weight of ſilver, when coined, produced 9l. 2s.; but in 1556, it produced 13l. current money. Ruddiman. Præfat. ad Anderſ. Diplomat. Scotiæ, p. 80, 81. from which it appears, that this complaint, which the malcontents often repeated, was not altogether deſtitute of foundation.

[e] M. Caſtlenau, after condemning the dangerous councils of the Princes of Lorrain, with regard to the affairs of Scotland, acknowledges, with his uſual candour, that the Scots declared war againſt the Queen Regent, rather from a deſire of vindicating their civil liberties, than from any motive of religion. Mem. 446.

form

BOOK II. 1559. form of government eſtabliſhed among the Scots, the power of the ſovereign was extremely limited. The more conſiderable nobles were themſelves petty Princes, poſſeſſing extenſive juriſdictions, almoſt independent of the crown; and followed by numerous vaſſals, who, in every conteſt, eſpouſed their chieftain's quarrel, in oppoſition to the King. Hence the many inſtances of the impotence of regal authority, which are to be found in the Scottiſh hiſtory. In every age, the nobles not only claimed, but exerciſed, the right of controlling the King. Jealous of their privileges, and ever ready to take the field in defence of them, every error in adminiſtration was obſerved, every encroachments upon the rights of the ariſtocracy excited indignation, and no Prince ever ventured to tranſgreſs the boundaries which the law had preſcribed to prerogative, without meeting reſiſtance, which ſhook or overturned his throne. Encouraged by the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and countenanced by the example of their anceſtors, the lords of the Congregation thought it incumbent on them, at this juncture, to inquire into the mal-adminiſtration of the Queen Regent, and to preſerve their country from being enſlaved or conquered, by depriving her of the power to execute ſuch a pernicious ſcheme.

THE act of deprivation, and a letter from the lords of the Congregation to the Queen Regent, are ſtill extant[f]. They diſcover not only that maſculine and undaunted ſpirit, natural to men

[f] Knox, 184.

capable of ſo bold a reſolution; but are remarkable for a preciſion and vigour of expreſſion, which we are ſurpriſed to meet with in an age ſo unpoliſhed. The ſame obſervation may be made with reſpect to the other public papers of that period. The ignorance or bad taſte of an age may render the compoſitions of authors by profeſſion obſcure, or affected, or abſurd; but the language of buſineſs is nearly the ſame at all times; and wherever men think clearly, and are thoroughly intereſted, they expreſs themſelves with perſpicuity and force.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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